

PROF JACKSON MEMORIAL VOLUME

Papers on Iranian Subjects

WRITTEN BY

SEVERAL SCHOLARS

in honour of

the late Prof A V Williams Jackson



Published by

The K. R Cama Oriental Institute

136, Apollo Street, Fort,

Bombay 1

1954

Printed at the Shahnamah Press, No 12, Karwar Street, Fort, Bombay, by Dorab H Kanga, and Published by Rustam J J Modi and Dr J. M Unvala for The K R Cama Oriental Institute, 136 Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay

PREFACE

Prof A V Williams Jackson renowned student of Zoroastrian literature and Iranian lore eminent Professor of Indo-Iranian Languages at the Columbia University and author of various works and treatises on the Zoroastrian religion and literature died on the 8th August 1937 To pay a tribute to his memory a public meeting of his friends and admirers was held in the Dr Sir Jivanji Modi Memorial Hall on the 29th January 1938 under the presidentship of the late Sir Hormusjee Cowasjee Dinshaw At that meeting a general desire was expressed by those present that in recognition of Prof Jackson s valued services to the cause of Iranian studies a memorial volume dedicated to his memory should be published. The Governing Body of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute took up the suggestion and appointed a Committee consisting of the following members to give effect to the proposal

Sir Rustom Masani (President)

Sir Jehangir Coyajee

Dr Irach J S Taraporewalla

Mr B T Anklesaria and

Mr Rustom J J Modi.

This Committee co-opted Prof. Louis H Gray Prof Arthur Christensen Sir E Denison Ross Prof. Emile Benveniste and Dr Jehangir C Tavadia as members of the Committee The Committee collected a sum of Rs 2506/ towards the publication of the Volume. Owing to the outbreak of the World War several Western scholars who had agreed to contribute papers could not send in their contributions

The Governing Body regrets that it has taken a long time to publish this volume partly on account of the difficul-

ties in getting contributions from foreign scholars owing to the global war and partly on account of a disastrous fire in the press Two of the esteemed members of the Editorial Board, namely Sir Jehangir Coyajee and Mr B T Anklesaria, have passed away during the interval The Governing Body expresses its warmest thanks to the remaining members of the Editorial Board and to the authors of the papers received for the volume

---

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF PROF JACKSON

By Dr. Charles J Ogden PhD

ABRAHAM VALENTINE WILLIAMS JACKSON for forty years professor of Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University and during that period pre-eminent among American scholars in the domain of the languages, literature and religion of Ancient Iran was born in New York City on February 9 1862 He sprang from families of old American stock which had held a respected place in the city s life. After attending private schools, he matriculated in 1879 in Columbia College from which he was graduated with honors in 1883. During his undergraduate course he devoted himself to the classics then still the mainstay of liberal education but in his senior year he took up the study of Sanskrit under the guidance of E D Perry It was through the latter s inspiration that Jackson became, in his own words "filled with an enthusiasm for the study of the ancient language and literature of India."[1]

After graduation he continued his philological studies at Columbia but added that of Avestan then for the first time offered in America by E. W Hopkins In this field he was to find his life work although the exigencies of the academic career required him for a number of years to undertake also the teaching of Anglo-Saxon and of the history of the English language. In 1887 when he had already received the degrees of L. H. D and Ph D from his *Alma Mater* he was granted leave of absence to pursue his Indo-Iranian studies in Germany and for a year and a half he worked at Halle under Karl F Geldner in Avestan and Sanskrit and Richard Pischel in Sanskrit and Prakrit. The former he

1. See the article of autobiographical reminiscences, Voices that Called Eastward H ... in *Columbia University Quarterly* Vol 23 (1931) pp. 151 168 at p 152.

always especially regarded as his *guru* On his return from Europe in 1889 he resumed his teaching position at Columbia For some years he still divided his time between English and Indo-Iranian, but from 1895 onward, when the professorship of Indo-Iranian languages was established, he devoted himself more and more to Oriental studies

By this date Professor Jackson had published a number of articles, mostly of a philological character, on Iranian and especially on Avestan subjects, also two small independent works *A Hymn of Zoroaster Yasna 31* (Stuttgart, 1888), and *The Avestan Alphabet and its Transcription* (Stuttgart, 1890) More important was his *An Avesta Grammar in Comparison with Sanskrit* (Stuttgart, 1892), a descriptive account of the language upon the model of Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar*, followed by the *Avesta Reader, First Series* (Stuttgart, 1893) Already, however, his interest in Iranian religion and particularly in its supreme representative, the prophet Zoroaster, had become evident, and in 1899 appeared his epochal *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, the work with which his fame will always be most closely associated In its thorough mastery of the complicated and often fragmentary material and in its evocation of a great religious personality it is an enduring monument of scholarship Jackson's position as an authority on this subject was recognized by his being chosen to write the section on Iranian religion in Geiger and Kuhn's *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie* ("Die Iranische Religion," Vol 2, pp 612-710, published 1900-1904)[1]

In 1901 Professor Jackson was able to realize his long-cherished wish of visiting India and becoming personally acquainted with the Parsi community, with which he ever after remained in close contact In 1903 came

1 This appeared in English in a revised and enlarged form, as the first part of Jackson's *Zoroastrian Studies The Iranian Religion and Various Monographs*

his first journey to Iran and Central Asia during which he made the perilous ascent of the Rock of Behistun in order to study at first hand the great inscription of Darius I The fruit of this journey was his *Persia Past and Present* (New York, 1906) a volume in which lively descriptions of travel are mingled with chapters of erudite and penetrating literary and archaeological research Two subsequent trips to these regions in 1907 and 1910 led to the writing of a companion work, *From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyam* (New York 1911)

As the title of this latter book indicates Jackson s Iranian interests were not restricted to the Zoroastrian period and the poetical literature of Modern Persian had a special attraction for him It was his custom to read a passage of Persian verse every evening before retiring and he projected a series of volumes on the poetry of the early and the classical periods of which only one *Early Persian Poetry from the Beginnings down to the Time of Firdausi* (New York 1920) was completed Many bits of tasteful translation scattered through his other works and articles, attest his loving familiarity with Persian literature.

The publication by F W K. Muller C Salemann and others of the Manichaean material from Turfan in several Middle Iranian dialects had aroused Jackson s philological interest and the relation between the newer religion and Zoroastrianism seemed to him to need careful investigation Accordingly Manichaeism became more and more the focal point of his later studies His first publication on the theme, *Studies in Manichaeism* (*JAOS* 43 15-25) appeared in 1923, and thereafter hardly a year went by without an article on Manichaeism from his pen In 1932 his chief contribution was published *Researches in Manichaeism with Special Reference to the Turfan Fragments* (New York, 1932). In these investigations which at times led him far beyond the confines of the Iranian field he renewed the

pioneering enthusiasm of youth, and, even if some of his conclusions on this novel and still imperfectly understood subject may need to be revised, the stimulating effect of his work will be acknowledged by all his co-laborers.

While the main current of his scholarly activity flowed from beginning to end in the domain of Iran, Professor Jackson always had a lively interest in the neighbor land of India. Rather strangely his predilection for the Avesta did not lead him to Vedic studies, and it was the classical Sanskrit literature that he found most attractive. The Hindu drama, with its technique in many respects resembling the Elizabethan, interested him particularly. He published a number of articles dealing with it, also a translation of the *Priyadarśikā* (New York, 1923), based on a manuscript rendering by the Parsi scholar G. K. Nariman. Mention should be made of the *History of India* in nine volumes which he edited for the Grolier Society (London, 1906-1907), and of his important chapter on "The Persian Dominions in Northern India" in *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 1, pp. 319-342 (Cambridge and New York, 1922).

The pursuit of his researches and the discharge of his academic duties were the substance of Professor Jackson's career, but he bore his share as citizen and scholar in the events of the world about him. Accompanied by his wife, the constant companion and inspiration of the latter portion of his life, he made three journeys to the Orient in addition to those already mentioned, namely, to India in 1911, to Iran in 1918-1919 on the American Relief Mission to Persia, when he went around the world, and again to India and Iran in 1926, when he had the satisfaction of at last entering Afghanistan. He went to Europe many times in order to take part in the International Congresses of Orientalists and in other gatherings of scholars. A severe illness in the summer of 1931 compelled him to restrict his activities, and in 1935 he retired from his Chair at Columbia Univer-

sity with the title of Professor Emeritus in Residence. Despite the handicap of failing health he continued his scholarly work, and was engaged in preparing another volume on Manichaeism when death suddenly overtook him on August 8, 1937

It is of course by his published works that a scholar's fame is judged yet all who had the privilege of knowing Professor Jackson personally must feel that the man himself had qualities of mind and heart which to them even outranked his learning Perhaps his most noticeable trait was his extreme kindness and affability yet he had a strong will and an unflinching sense of duty While he always avoided speaking ill of anyone he was unyielding in matters of principle He had a genuine love of teaching and inspired his students with his own enthusiasm for his subject. He did not think it beneath his dignity as a scholar to lecture to popular audiences on the themes closest to his heart and to the listeners his melodious voice and the graceful exuberance of his style seemed to fill the hall with the spirit of the Orient. In his work he was unsparingly conscientious a severe taskmaster to himself and a strict though kindly *guru* to those who received their training under him The thirteen volumes of the *Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series* bear witness to his achievement as editor as well as author Destitute of envy he was a friend and counsellor to other scholars working in the Iranian field He had especially close relations with the Parsi community in India which had as it were adopted him into its membership, as this memorial volume so graciously testifies

The honors and distinctions of the entire learned world were showered upon Professor Jackson In his own country he was a member of the American Philosophical Society and of several other learned societies He was for many years a Director and twice President of the American Oriental

Society, and was Honorary President of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology Abroad he was an honorary member both of the Royal Asiatic Society and of the Société Asiatique He had received from a former Shah the decoration of the Lion and the Sun, and an honorary degree from the Dār 'ul-Funun University in Teheran He welcomed these tokens of recognition with human pleasure but without losing the innate modesty of a true servant of learning When he left this world to ascend to Garōnmāna there passed from among us a great scholar and a very noble gentleman

CONTENTS

PAGE

Avestan Driwi—By Prof H W Bailey 1

The Frahang-i Pahlavik XXX—By Dastur Dr Hormazdyar Mirza 7

A Mithraic Psalm (Psalm XIX)—By Sir Jehangir C Coyajee 13

Qui Est L'Auteur de L'Inscription du Ka'ba de Zoroastre ?—Par Prof. Arthur Christensen 25

Sad Dar Versions and their Authors—By Dr J C Tavadia 30

Le Nom de la Chorasmie—Par M J Duchesne-Guillemin 37

Notes on the Great Inscription of Šāpūr I—By Prof. W B Henning 40

Some Notes on a Few Important Pahlavi Words and Constructions—By Ervad Rustam Dinshah Dastur Meherjirana 55

The Mathras—By Shams-ul- Ulama Dastur Dr M N Dhalla 60

Aids to Pahlavi Lexicography—By Ervad Bamanji Nasarvanji Dhabhar 63

Abbreviations in Pahlavi—By Dr Bernhard Geiger 72

Pahlavi Words New and Old—By Professor M Sprengling 81

Again The Two-headed Celestial Cow—By Prof H. Lommel 86

Interpretation of a few Avestan Words—By K. E Punegar 95

Note di Lessicografia Pahlavica—Del Prof A Pagliaro 103

Notes on Pahlavi Lexicography—Translated from the Italian of Prof A Pagliaro By Dr J M Unvala 125

A Glimpse into Iran after the Arab Conquest—By Prof Firoze Cowasji Davar 149

The Pāzand Text on Naoroz—By Dastur Kaioji Dastur Peshotan Mirza ... 162

Pahlavi [illegible] Anhast–Pāzand Anahast 'Untruth', 'Falsehood'—By Dastur Kaikhusru Mahiar Kutar Dastur Darab Pahlan 165

The Doctrine of Dualism in the Gāthās—By Sorabji Naoroji Kanga 171

Trial by Ordeal in Ancient Iran—By J C Tarapore 187

The Evolution of Iranian Law—By Rustam J J Modi . 199

The Marriage Service of the Parsis—By Dr I J S Taraporewala 216

AVESTAN *DRIWI-*

By H. W. Bailey, Cambridge

The Avestan words *driwi* and *driwika* have long presented a crucial problem. Attempts to explain the words are listed up to 1906 by Bartholomae in his *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* and *Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch*. A further attempt was made by Dastur Hoshang Jamasp in his Vendidâd ii. 78 (1907). Most writers seemed to agree that a meaning such as 'blemish' or more specifically 'pock mark' was a likely explanation and on that basis various etymologies were proposed. It is the meaning adopted in Duchesne, *Les Composés de l'Avesta* (1936) 22. In Lommel's translation of Vidēvdāt 2.29 in *Die Yašt's des Awesta* (1927) p. 206 the word *driwiš* is left untranslated. No explanation is offered in Louis H. Gray's *The Foundations of the Iranian Religions*, p. 204. In Walde and Pokorny's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* (1927) i. 856 no further light was thrown on the etymology. The translators into Pahlavi used a word [illegible] or [illegible] to render Avestan *driwi-* which has itself baffled commentators. Yet it is here the solution probably lies.

1. Pahlavi *drym*, *drm*

It is necessary to distinguish three Pahlavi words with the variant spellings [illegible] and [illegible] (the diacritical mark may be absent).

i. *drym drm*, so far as I have noted, only in the *Frahang i Pahlavīk* (ed. Junker cap. 16.2) to render the Aramaic [illegible] *ZWZN* (this is the form in the Elephantine papyri) that is *zūzīn* plur. The Syriac *zūzā* was used to render Greek δραχμή. Hence the word is Mid. Pers. *drahm dram*, Armen. *dram*, NPers. *diram*, Pāzand *drem*, occurring also further east in the Niya Kharoṣṭhī documents as *drakhma*, all representing the Greek word

> The black bile is cold and dry its colour black its taste sour and its place is in the spleen

It is easy to recognize in these words the Greek doctrine, *attributed to Hippocrates or to his school of the four cardinal* humours blood phlegm the yellow and the black bile (as distinct from the Indian doctrine of the three *doṣas* wind bile and phlegm) The treatise περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου in the *Corpus Hippocraticum* which is directed against the theory of a unitary basis of the human body contains exactly this doctrine of the four humours.

> §4 τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ αἷμα καὶ φλέγμα καὶ χολὴν ξανθήν τε καὶ μέλαιναν
>
> the body of man contains in itself blood and phlegm and yellow and black bile

It is the doctrine taught also in Arabic books on medicine where are named the four mixtures الاخلاط الاربع the blood الدم, the phlegm البلغم (which is the Greek word *phlegma* taken over into Arabic) and the two biles المرتان

It is therefore certain that [illegible] var lect. [illegible] means phlegm

2. *drym* = phlegm.

Since then *drym* is phlegm it would be legitimate to consider this a specialized meaning from a more general meaning thick liquid foam slime It will be remembered how the Sanskrit used *kapha* and *sleṣman* to refer to phlegm. With such a meaning *drym* evidently explains Avestan *driwi* satisfactorily The passages are the following —

In Vid. 1.8 Ahura Mazdāh created Haraiva and to plague it, Ahramanyu according to the scheme brought forth his counter-creation,

> *āaṯ ahe paityārəm frākərəntaṯ*
> *aŋrō mainyuš pourumahrkō*
> *sraskəmca driwikāca*

Here the association of *sraska*-(Mid. Pers. *srišk*) tears with *driwika*- 'thick liquid is at once illuminating. Clearly

as Bartholomae had indicated in the *Altiran Wörterb.*, the sin of overmuch lamentation was the evil of Harahva. The Pahlavi commentator had probably a similar intention if one may read the unfortunately corrupted text as follows —

ut-aš pat ān ō patyārak-ih frāc kirrēnīt
ganāk mēnōk pur-marg
**srašk-u driβakih*
*vāčak ēt hamanāk *šēvan at ˁmōδ hast kē*
ētōn gōβēt ī pat tanbūrak kunēt

'He, deadly Ahraman created tears (*srašk*) and phlegm. Their speech is like this, is lamenting and wailing. Some say it was accompanied by the tambourine (*tanbūrak*).'

The commentary on Vīdēvdāt I incorporated in the Greater Bundahišn, gives a similar explanation. GrBd 206.7 ff. —

šašom harēy pahlom dāt ut-aš patyārak ēn ēr: mat šēvan pat vand mōδ-kunišnīh čiak gōβēt apārīk stānēnd pat vand ut čēkāmak

'Sixth he created Harēy (Harē = Herāt) most excellent, and as its evil this came in: excess lamentation with much wailing. One speaks, the others take much or little.'

In Vīd. 7.2 = 8.71 occurs a description of the *druxš yā nasuš*, the *druž* of pollution —

maxši kəhrpa vīvāityā frašnaoš apazaδaŋhō akaranəm driwyå yaθa zōiždištāiš xrafstrāiš

Rendered in Pahlavi by

maxš-karp 'yrngd frāc-šnuk ī apāč-kūn ī akanārak-drym (var. lect. *drm*) *ku drym ō drym patvast ēstēt čēgōn ān bazakēntom xrafstrēmantom*

Here 'endlessly foaming' as in excessive lamentation would suit the context. The gloss will mean 'phlegm is joined to phlegm', that is, the flow of liquid is continuous.

On this is based the passage of the *Artāy Vīrāz* 17.12

form of a *jēh* (Avestan *jahikā*) harlot who is *frāc-snūk apāc-kun akanārak-drym* (var lect. *drm*) *ku drym patrast ēstāt cegōn ān i barakēntom zrafstr i rēmantom ut gandaktom*

The commentary on Vid 2.29 unfortunately remains obscure. Here *drucīš* occurs in the list of human disabilities debarring men from the Vara of Yama

mā drucīš mā ān drißak kē āßarēt
'nor the *drūci* ('the lamenter') he who brings

The variant readings ... are not clear Possibly a form of *mōδak* wailing or of *grīstan* to weep stood there originally Here the word *druci* is an agentive noun. Similarly in Vid 10 13 the *drīwiš daevō* the demon *driwi* associated as in Vid. 2 29 with *daiviš* and *kasviš* may be understood as the personification of excessive lamentation

The punishment in the other world for this excessive lamentation is well-known from the *Artāy Virāz Nāmak* 16.6 ff. (already noted in *Altiran. Worterb* s v *drucika*) Artāy Virāz saw a great river hard to cross.

gōβet srōš ahrav ut ātur yazd ku en rōt ān vas ars hast i mart mān hac pas i vitartakān hac casm [casm] be hilēnd ut sēvan ut mōδak ut grīstan kunend ān ars adātihā recend ut ō en rōt aβzāyet

'Srōš ahrav and Atur yazd said This river is those many tears which men let fall from their eyes on behalf of the dead and they lament and grieve and pour out those tears unrighteously and they grow to this river

3 Reading of *drym drm* phlegm

It is clear that the reading of *drym drm* 'phlegm is likely to be difficult till a corresponding word is found in some other Iranian source. As a preliminary hypothesis the following may be suggested

If **drēm* is read for *drym*, the reading *drm* may be considered either as a defective writing for *drym* or more probably simply an error, just as inversely occurs as a variant to *garm* in Zātspram 30 15 quoted above

Pahlavī **drēm* can then be interpreted as an Old Iran *draibma-*, and so associated with Avestan *driwi-* to a base *draib drib-*

Now that recent investigations, particularly of Benveniste, *Origines de la formation des noms en indo-européen*, 1935, have partially explained for us early Indo-European morphology, it is possible to propose connections for such an Old Iran base, namely, Indo-Eur *dher- dhr-*, attested with various suffixes —

dhr-ébh- 'flow thickly' Greek τρέφεσθαι 'to congeal', ταρφυς 'thick.'

Lith *drebiu* 'throw out thick liquid'

dhr-éə-bh Old Engl *drōf* 'troubled'

dhr-én-bh- Lith *drimbù* 'drop in thick drops' (if not a secondary nasal, Kuiper, *Die indogermanischen Nasalpräsentia* 187), Greek θρομβος 'congealed mass' (with *bh* or b)

dhr-éy-bh- Avestan *driwi-*

dhr-éy-d- Old Engl *drītan* 'cacare'

Other derivatives are to be seen in Walde and Pokorny, loc cit, s v *dher-* and derived bases

THE FRAHANG I PAHLAVĪK, XXX

By Dastur Dr. Hormazdyar P Mirza, M.A. Ph.D (Heidelburg)

The chapter XXX of FP[1] runs thus

[Pahlavi text]

[Pahlavi text]

In this chapter the word [Pahlavi] is incorrect. As the context shows it should be [Pahlavi] In fact one MS U_4 gives this correct form but inadvertently this correct form in the MS precedes [Pahlavi] while as shown below it should follow [Pahlavi] just as the incorrect form [Pahlavi] occurs in all other MSS Similarly [Pahlavi] should read [Pahlavi]

After [Pahlavi] one MS O adds [Pahlavi] (Pārsi ل) while several MSS U_4, U_2 and J add [Pahlavi] PPGl gives [Pahlavi] and West[2] observes that [Pahlavi] is another reading of [Pahlavi] The Iranian synonym for this word [Pahlavi] or [Pahlavi] is [Pahlavi] (kafīz) as given in PPGl. Again Anquetil[3] in his Vocabulaire Pehlvi Persan et Français supposed to have been prepared for him by his teacher Dastur Darab of Surat from the Frahang[4] gives both these words Nā kafīz or as West[2] gives 'nā = کفیز

As far as the Pahlavi text of this chapter is concerned it is remarkable that contrary to the normal course generally followed throughout the Frahang the Iranian synonyms of the Semitic logograms are omitted in all the MSS. collated by Junker[5] The reason of this omission is quite obvious The Iranian synonyms [Pahlavi] (dāng) [Pahlavi] (dast) and [Pahlavi] (kafīz) of the Semitic logograms used in this chapter are already given in their respective places in the Frahang[6], and hence

1. FP p. 66 See also PPGl. p. 91 2. PPGl. p. 259. 3. Zend Avesta Paris 1771 Tome II p. 520. 4. PPGl. p. 262. 5 With the exceptions of U_4 and K. U_4 gives [Pahlavi] once, and K gives [Pahlavi] once, which might be later additions. 6 FP pp 56, 63 and 66 PPGl pp. 12, 7 and 14 respectively

the compiler might have thought it superfluous to repeat them in this chapter But it should be noted that in FP, p, 53 (PPGl, p 14) [illegible] is the Iranian synonym for [illegible] or [illegible], and not for [illegible] or [illegible] Hence [illegible] as an Iranian synonym of [illegible] or [illegible] is necessary in this chapter[7]

[illegible] (pasiz)[8] Neo Pers پشيز—a small coin, a small weight, a fourth part of a dāng

This word occurs twice in the Pahlavi literature, and also the Neo-Pers پشيز in the Šāhnāmeh In the Pahlavi literature as well as in the Šāhnāmeh the word is used as a small coin having an insignificant value The word occurs in the following Pahlavi texts

(1) Draχt i Asūrik § 49, BSOS, Vol II, p 664

[illegible]

ka būz ō vāzār barēnd uδ paδ vahāγ dārēnd
harv kē dah drahm nē dārēδ frāz ō būz nē āyēδ,
tō paδ dō pašīz kuδakān χarēnd

Unvala's translation in BSOS, Vol II, p 664 "When they bring the goat to the market and offer it for sale, every one who has not got ten dram, does not come near the goat [But] the children buy thee for two pašīz"

(2) PhRvDd p 55

[illegible]

az awastāγ pēδāγ ku mard i šahr ka-š γēš
pašīz-ē, zyān i kasān e[9] hazār, ēγ[10] pāδafrāy
ka ayārīh nē kunēδ

---

7 In the Frahang we find such instances of one and the same Iranian word having more than one Semitic logogram 8 PPGl, p 177 a disk, a coin, FP does not explain this word 9 [illegible] for [illegible] (ē), see Unvala, BSOS, Vol II, p 662 10 In some of the Pahlav texts, and particularly in PhRvDd, [illegible] stands for [illegible] See GrIr Phil I 1 p 322.

This is evident from Awasta; When a man of a country has one pasir (and) the loss of the people[11] is one thousand (pasiza) then he is right if he does not help (them)"

In the Sahnameh as Wolff[12] says, سر is "a (small worthless) coin or even a false coin. Similarly BurQ (p. 201) gives

سر - پول دیرباارزک ساو تنک رائج را گویند +

Again Asadi[13] explains the word in this way

سر در ... ... بی اسب

In BZL[14] Sachau edited a glossary explaining (in Neo-Persian) the Pazand or Parsi words. It is called فرهنگ زوان دری and in this Frahang[15] the word is thus explained

[16]سر سهار حصه از دانگ

(dang) Neo-Pers. دانگ a coin, a weight[17]. A dang is a fourth part of a drahm[1]

(denar) Neo-Pers. دینار a coin, a weight.

A denar is a weight of a drahm and a half[18]. A drahm is as seen above four dangs in weight hence a denar is six dangs and the order in which these denominations of weights occur in the Frahang clearly shows that a denar is

---

11. I.e. the loss suffered by the people, lit. "some ones," i.e., other countrymen. 12. GIScbN "einer (kleinen wertlosen) Münze" p. 202 and "falsche Münze" p. 203. So also Vullers LPL, I p. 268. 13. Asadi Neupersisches Wörterbuch, von Paul Horn, Berlin 1897 p. 89. 14. See Sitzungsberichte der Phil-hist. Classe der kai Akademie der Wissenschaften, Band LXVII 605-652. 15. This Frahang is to be found in the MS. No. 125 of the Ouseley Collection in the Bodleian Library of Oxford. The Frahang is written by Herbad Minochihr Dastur Baran Qwamaldin, Kobad Hormazyar Sanjana and completed on the day Bad (22nd) of the month Khordad (3rd) 1023 A.Y. (=1655 A.D.). See Catalogue of the Persian MSS in the Bodleian Library by Sachau and Ethé Part I Oxford 1889 p. 1117. See also BZL, pp. 11, 35. 16. See BZL, pp. 39-40. The printed text gives سر and not سر I think that is either clerical or typographical mistake for سر. 17. For this word see PP pp. 80 114 PPGl p. 160 G I Phil, I 2, p. 68. 18. Sc ArG I, p. 184 GIScbN p 663. 19. See EPDic, p 594.

a weight of six dāngs[20] In the Frahang the denominations of weights are given in an ascending order thus

One dāngs, two dāngs, three dāngs (or) half a dēnar four dāngs, five dāngs, a dēnar

(yāmaγ dast) Neo-Pers دست جامه a pair of clothes, a complete suit of dress[21]

In the Pahlavi literature the phrase occurs in the Kārnāmaγ i Artaχšīr i Pāpaγān[22] (dast i yāmaγ) The phrase is correctly rendered by all the translators of the Kārnāmaγ[23], with the exception of Nyberg Nyberg reads the phrase 'X'aīrē yāmak' and translates "ein königlicher Anzug", and remarks that the following words 'patmōčan i γ'atāyār' are a gloss to it[24] But the phrase in the Frahang and Neo-Pers دست جامه, as shown below, show that Nyberg's interpretation is certainly incorrect, and his objections to Salemann's interpretation[25] of this phrase of the Kārnāmaγ are invalid[26]

According to EPDic (p 833), Neo-Pers دست is used as "number" referring to clothes Again دست is used in the sense of "something that is perfect or complete"[27], hence the phrase دست جامه is explained جامه سرویا, and the phrase یک دست خلعت is glossed یعنی از سر تا پا Firdausi as quoted by

20 Thus a dāng is a sixth part of a dēnār, and hence generally دانگ in Neo Pers is a "sixth part of anything" see EPDic, p 554 21 FP, p 81 (dast =) 'handful" PPGI, p 106 "a whole suit of wearing apparel 22 Sanjana's edition, ch I, § 18, text p 4 See also GrIrPhil, I 1, p 277 23 (a) Sanjana 'a suit of clothes", translation, p 5 (b) Antia "a suit of clothes", translation p 5 (c) Noldeke "ein vollständiger Anzug"—Geschichte des Artachšir i Pāpakān, p 38 (d) Muller 'eine Tracht Kleider"—Beiträge zur Textkritik und Erklärung der Kārnāmak, p 6 (e) Wahid دستی جامه—A Neo Persian translation of Kārnāmak, p 6 24 See Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi, von H. S. Nyberg, Upsala 1928, Vol I, p 77, Vol II, pp 50 187 25 See Salemann in GrIrPhil, I, 1, p 277 "ein Satz Kleider", Kārn Ard. I, 18 26 See Hilfsbuch, Vol II, pp 263 4 27 See LPL, I p 852; GlSchN, p. 363 See also BurQ, p 386.

دست - یك چیز تمام را هم می گویند همچو یك دست رخت یعنی از مندل تا شلوال - یك دست سلاح که از خود تا موزه آهنی باشد

Vullers, uses this phrase in the following line

نکی دست جامه نه بود سا

The compiler of the Frahang shows this special meaning of دست (dast) used in the sense of "a pair or a suit" in this chapter

— کفیز (kafīz) Neo-Pers. کفز کفیز کویز = a measure "a measure of grain"[78] PPGl[79] explains "a measure containing about 64 lbs weight" The word is arabicized[80] into قفز and it is to be found also in the Armenian as a loan word[81] The word کفیز is used in Ardāv Virāz Nāmak Ch. XXVII §§ 2 5, Ch. LXVII § 9, Ch LXXX § 6 (Hoshang and Haug's Edition) Justi[82] suggests (—) for — or — to correspond with the Chaldean MNA

On the strength of the above remarks the amended text of this chapter would run thus

[illegible]

Pastz-e Pa iz-dō Dāng e, dāng dō dāng se dāng cahar dāng panj denār Nāmak-dast-e dast do Kafīz

This chapter is not intended to give the denominations of "coins and money" as the PPGl suggests It seems to be a supplement to the preceding chapter which deals with the numerals. The compiler gives in this chapter the technical words, used for the numbers regarding different things, *e. g* weights clothes and measures The technical words used in Neo-Persian as the numbers of different things are similarly treated by Wollaston in FPDic p. 833

LIST OF PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS ARTICLE

ArGr	Armenische Grammatik von H. Hübschmann, Leipzig, 1895.
BSOS :	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies London,

78. See LPL, II pp. 857 925 79. P 130. See also PI p 66 Glossary of the Book of Ardā Vī Ir by West and Haug 1874. p. 197 80. See BurQ p. 729 کفیز - پیمانه باشد که دانه چیزها را پیاله کنند و قفز معرب آنست 81 PrSt, p. 69 GrIrPhil, I, 2, pp. 181 182. 82. See Der Bundehesh von F Justi, pp 305, 218 245.

A MITHRAIC PSALM

(PSALM XIX)

By Sir Jehangir C. Coyajee, Kt.

As a result of long investigation and controversy the great probability of Babylonian and Magian influence during the Exile on Judaism—and incidentally on the Book of Psalms—is generally admitted. So also is the possibility of some direct influence also even prior to the Exile." The parallelism is very close between the 104th psalm and Ikhnaton's hymn to the Sun and also between the "Teaching of Amenophis" and the Book of Proverbs (Ency. Br. Vol. XXIII p. 661). That might lead us to expect that some other psalms too, might have received the impress of foreign model. Our task in the present paper is to examine the magnificent nineteenth psalm in the light of Mithraism and its history.

It is submitted that while this glorious psalm has always been highly admired as it indeed deserves to be, the critics have hardly done justice to its organic unity and to its underlying central idea. It has been treated as consisting of rather disconnected sections and fragments. Thus such an eminent commentator as Dr. Cheyne takes verses 1-7 as the "Song of the Sun" in praise of the swift running hero Shemesh which was a part old Hebrew mythology but reclaimed from superstition to the service of the Most High by the psalmists. Then follows "a didactic fragment attached to the Song of the Sun" praising the Law of Jehovah or the New Hebrew Law-book. This is supposed to cover verses 8 to 14. The 13th verse is supposed to be an expression of the "fear of unconscious transgressions which hung like a pall over the ordinary Babylonian worshipper." Alternatively "the great transgression" was interpreted as apostasy of which there was a tremulous conscientiousness in the Persian and the

Greek age of Jewish history It is not shown why the "Song of the Sun" should precede and be joined on to a praise of the Law Book or how these fragments are connected together

It is significant that for about a century there has been a controversy as to whether this psalm possesses an integral unity or not On one side Hitzig and Maurer have contended that the psalm *has no unity of plan* but that it consists of "*two loosely connected halves*, the first containing the praise of God from nature, the second from the law, or generally from revelation" As Prof Hengstenberg has remarked "It is also matter of surprise that Ewald was not superior to the *common mutilation*, although he feels himself obliged to recognise so that the *two halves are not in themselves complete* The first not, because, if viewed as independent, the song would be without all doctrine and application, without any intimation as to how man should praise God, or receive that praise of the heavens, *it has thus the appearance of a torso* unsatisfactory and unanimating; the second not, for verse 7 begins too coldly for a prayer We might still further add, that the commencement would be an awkward one, the Psalmist would stumble at the gate into the house So the strange supposition must be resorted to, that the conclusion of the first half has been lost, and that a later poet has added to the fragments a new, unsuitable conclusion" (Cf Hengstenberg, *On the Psalms*, Vol I, pp 325-6) Thus even the hypothesis that this psalm consists of two or more fragments does not solve the difficulties presented by the psalm And yet the difficulties in the way of accepting the integrity of the psalm, as usually interpreted are so great that De Wette, Koester and others believe it to be made up of two originally distinct psalms The former commentator also expresses surprise that "the poet, who began with such an elevated contemplation of nature could close with the feelings of a bruised heart"

It is only when we contemplate the nineteenth psalm with Mithraic symbolism and doctrines as its background that we discover its essential unity Then there is no need to regard it as consisting of fragments relating to disparate topics which have been put together by some skilful psalmist. Any Mithræum will show the Sun dressed as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber and preparing to run a race We can still see their line going out through all the earth The Mihir Yast (which of course is the great Iranian liturgy for Mithra) will tell us of the law of and fear of Mithra and will let us know in unmistakable terms what the great trans gression and presumptuous sins signify In fact all the elements of the psalm will be satisfactorily interpreted and the organic unity of one of the greatest of the psalms will receive its due

In order to show that this psalm embodies and mani fests the spirit and the letter as well as the doctrine and the symbolism of Mithraism I shall attempt to submit *a com mentary on it almost verse by verse.* We shall imagine our selves standing in one of the magnificent Mithræa pictured say on the Capitoline bas relief on the bas relief at Hedern heim or in the Barberini Mithræum discovered as recently as in 1936 We shall recollect that the cave of Mithra represented and reproduced the universe and that the things that were shown inside it symbolised the cosmic elements and regions[1] We shall then fully understand the significance of the first verse that *the heavens declare the glory of God* for of all religions Mithraism was *par excellence* the sidereal religion and the zodiacal signs were carefully sculptured in every important Mithræum as Cumont has noted in his *Textes et Monument Figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra* (p 39). Under that syncretism of Mazdaism and old Babylo nian doctrines which resulted in Mithraism the progress of the human soul was represented as being not over a bridge but

1. Cf. A Loisy *Mystères Païens*, p. 168 Hocart, *Kingship* p. 180.

through seven planetary gates In the Roman mysteries, which were the heirs of this Chaldeo-Persian eschatology, the seven spheres represented the seven grades of initiation, and it was Mithra who guided the souls of his initiates over these heavenly stages The exposition of Mithraism both by Celsus and Porphyry proves that the very first doctrine taught to the Mithraic neophyte was that of the ascent of the soul through the starry regions While other religions too might often refer to "the heavens declaring the glory of God', *in Mithraism it was the cardinal and all important doctrine* and would fitly begin a representative Mithraic psalm Moreover Mithra was, according to the Mihir Yast, the very light of the firmament or heavens and all the beauty and glory of the heavens was, consequently, Mithra's own Finally, it was *under the arch of the Zodiac*, and beneath the busts of the sun and the moon, that Mithra consummates his glorious sacrifice, which is to save and sustain the world This is *a third sense* in which the follower of Mithraism believed that "the heavens declared the glory of God" The top of the Mithraic cave represented the sky, the sun and the moon are also represented on the bas-reliefs, the Zodiacal band runs across the scene while some stars appear even on Mithra's mantle Thus the parallelism between the "heavens" and the Mithraic temple in which the psalm was sung was complete Finally, the transition in the psalm from Mithra to "God" is easily understandable since Mithra was very likely considered "as in some sort the double or antitype of the Supreme Being" As Legge observes "It may well be that the learned doctors of the Mithraic theology regarded their Supreme Being and Mithras as two aspects of the same god"[1]

The second verse of the psalm is an important one referring to "*day unto day uttering speech*, and night unto night showing knowledge" This reference to time as a great factor might refer to the importance of Chronos or Zrvāna

1 *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, Vol II, p 238.

Akarena (Boundless Time) who was almost at the pinnacle of the Mithraist pantheon"[1] Cumont in his first volume (pp. 19-20) quotes Damascius to show the importance of the doctrine of Time in the Mithraic system

We now come to the third verse There is *no speech nor language where their voice is not heard*" Any but a Mithraic interpretation of this verse is bound to be most difficult But the Mihir Yast (sec 80) furnishes a most satisfactory meaning for this text For Mithra is represented not only as a deity but as a priest He performed the sacrifice *with a loud voice His voice reached up to the sky went over the earth all around went over the seven Karshvares* (or continents) This explains not only the third verse but also the reference in the fourth verse to their word going to the end of the world There is another sense too in which their voice is heard For we may take *them*" to mean the worshippers of Mithra The Yast says that "The voice of his wailing reaches up to the sky it goes over the earth all around it goes over the seven Karshvares whether he utters his prayer in a low tone of voice or aloud"[2] This implies that Mithra hears the prayer of his followers whatever the language or the mode of their prayer Hence a Mithraic psalm would very appropriately put this thought at its very beginning For those who borrowed the psalm and put it into Hebrew such an assurance would be particularly necessary

We might take the fourth and the sixth verses together for the purpose of our exposition of the psalm on Mithraic lines There we read that *His going forth is from the end of the heaven* and his circuit unto the ends of it", also that Their line is gone out through all the earth" In explaining these expressions, we are materially assisted by sections 16 104 and 133 of the Mihir Yast for Mithra moves along all

1 Cf. Legge *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* Vol. II pp. 236-7
2 Sec. 85.
3

the Karshvares". He "drives forward through Arezahē and Savahē, through Fradadhafshu and Vidadhafshu, through Vourubaresti and Vouruqaresti, through this our Karshvare, the bright *Hvaniratha*' Thus the Yast not only says generally that the line of Mithra goes to the *ends of the earth*, but mentions the regions over which that deity goes forth—emphasizing the ends in section 104 For it is mentioned there how Mithra encompasses the earth with his mighty arms—from the easternmost to the westernmost river, "what is by the Sanaka of the Rangha, and *what is by the boundary of the* earth"

The fourth verse also informs us that *a tabernacle for the sun has been set in them* Here again we have a text which the follower of Mithraism can take in two senses and he would be right either way A reference to section 50 of the Mihir Yast would give us the first meaning For there we are told that "Ahura Mazda has built up a *dwelling (for Mithra)* on the Hara Berezaiti, the bright mountain around which the many (stars) revolve, where come neither night nor darkness, no cold wind and no hot wind, no deathful sickness, no uncleanness made by the Daēvas" There is a second meaning which can also be attached to the phrase "tabernacle for the sun" For in many bas-reliefs of Mithra we see plaques set representing the sun[1] at rest So also in Mithraic initiation "the initiate sees the disk of the Sun which opens disclosing *doors of fire* and the world of gods within them' Here again there is implied a house or tabernacle for the sun[2] It is also worth noting that Mithra is an architectonic deity "who made a dwelling for Rashnu"[3] and "who upholds the columns of the lofty house and makes its pillars solid"[4] Mithra is preeminently one with the power of building houses and tabernacles

1 Cf Cumont, Monument No 289 of the bas-relief of Mauls in Tyrol.

2 Cf Legge *op cit* II, 266 quoting Lafaye's *L'Initiation mithrique*, p 106

3 Mihir Yast, sec. 81

4 Mihir Yast, sec 28

In other bas-reliefs of Mithra like the Capitol bas-relief[1] or the great Heddernheim bas-relief[2] we see the sun entering a car. Hence in the fifth verse of the psalm we have the sun rejoicing "as a strong man to *run a race*." Sometimes however it is Mithra who is mounting the sun's car from behind. Thus in the Heddernheim bas-relief the sun is standing in his car and helping Mithra to ascend it from behind.[3] The relation between the sun and Mithra was so close that the one was often mistaken for the other. And this brings us to the *comparison of the sun to a bridegroom* in the fifth verse. Here again the monuments and Mithraism assist the interpretation. Thus in the Barberini Mithraeum Mithra is represented as dressed in a very gorgeous fashion. He is made to wear a red star-spangled mantle and a blue or green hose—a dress fit for a bridegroom. The bridegroom idea receives support in other ways too from the monuments. Thus on the Esquiline bas-relief[4] there are small busts of a young man with a Phrygian bonnet (Mithra) accompanied by a woman with long hair.[5] Again in the Heddernheim bas-relief while Mithra is getting into his car we note not far from him Luna in her car with a floating veil going the same way.[6] They are apparently attended by a procession of the seasons among whom the spring wears a circle of roses in the hair. These might well have been taken for a marriage procession attending the bridegroom.

That brings us to the sixth verse of the psalm where we read that "*there is nothing hid from the heat thereof.*" The Mihir Yast parallels this by observing that Ahura Mazda has established Mithra "to maintain and look over all this moving world." Hence Mithra never sleeping wakefully guards the creation of Mazda (sec. 103). Mithra is also

1. Cumont, No. 6.
2. *Ib.* No. 251.
3. Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 365.
4. Monument No. 16 of Cumont.
5. Cumont *op. cit.*, p. 124.
6. Cumont, *op. cit.* p. 365.

represented 'with a thousand ears, well-shapen, with ten thousand eyes, high, with full knowledge, strong, sleepless and ever awake' (sec 7) It follows that nothing is hidden from him—especially as he is endowed, besides, *with a thousand senses*[1] 'Through those eyes and those senses, he is undeceivable, he, of the ten thousand spies' (sec 82) An excellent commentary on the words '*heat thereof*' is supplied by a unique feature of Mithraic bas-reliefs There we find two torch-bearers, of whom one—called Cautes—holds an uplifted torch, while the other (designated as Cautopates) holds his torch reversed Obviously, and literally, nothing can be hid from the heat (and light) of the torches so held by Cautes and Cautopates M Cumont has advanced an opinion which identifies these torch-bearers with Mithra himself as his representatives[2] Thus, according to Mithraic doctrine, nothing is hid from the heat of Mithra But indeed the Mihir Yast refers repeatedly to the omnipresent personality of Mithra to whom sacrifices are to be offered "around countries", "within countries", "in this country" "above countries" "under countries", "before countries", and "behind countries"[3] Nor in this connection, should we forget that a series of fire altars are depicted on many of the bas-reliefs of Mithra Indeed, on one Roman monument[4] there is a double range of fire altars—one above and one below Mithra[5] Here again we see how nothing can be hid from the heat of Mithra

The eleventh verse of the psalm refers to the *great reward*, which is obtained by those who keep the statutes of God In the Mihir Yast the rewards given to those, who do not "lie unto Mithra", are referred to in sections 62 and 63 On such men of truth and righteousness Mithra confers

1 Mihir Yast, secs 35 and 82
2. Cf Cumont, *op cit* I, p 208 *sq*
3 Mihir Yast, sec. 144
4 Cumont No 8
5. Cumont, p 116

strength and vigour glory and other boons. Among these rewards the chief one is of course the Glory victory and royalty[1] He can establish nations in supreme strength and supreme victory but he confounds nations that delight in havoc turns away their Glory takes away their strength for victory and blows them away helpless Some other boons and wages given by Mithra to his followers are mentioned in the Mihir Yast sec 62.

The ninth verse of the psalm praises the *fear of the Lord enduring for ever* This last phrase might be understood as referring to Chronos (Zrvāna Akarena) who was as we have seen a foremost figure in the Mithraic pantheon Both he and Mithra are awe-inspiring deities and on several occasions we read the prayer in the Yast "Oh! may we never fall across the rush of Mithra"[2] For "when there rushes a wicked worker of evil swiftly Mithra goes and yokes his horses to his chariot" (sec. 52) Mithra first and foremost strikes blows with his club on the horse and his rider he throws fear and *fright* upon the horse and his rider (sec 101) The punishment of one on whom Mithra directs his wrath is indeed awful "He cuts all the limbs to pieces and mingles together with the earth the bones hair brains and blood of the men who have lied unto Mithra (sec. 72)

The Mihir Yast also emphasises what is said in the tenth and eleventh verses of our psalm about the *great reward to be gained by observing the statutes of the Lord* For it is with the help of Mithra that his worshippers abiding in him may long inhabit a good abode *full of all the riches that can be wished for*" This last phrase corresponds to the expression in the psalm about the statutes being more to be desired than gold yea than *much fine gold* The psalm does not expressly mention an everlasting life in paradise as part of the reward of keeping the statutes—

1. Secs. 26-27
2. Sec. 98.

perhaps because when the psalm was borrowed the Jews had not developed the notion of immortal life fully But in the Yast (sec 74) Mithra assures his worshippers and the faithful that he would come to them in the appointed time of his beautiful, immortal life

The last verses of the psalm (verses 12-14) refer to various sins—among which are specially noted "*secret faults*' *presumptuous sins*" and finally, "*the great transgression* Obviously, it is the "secret faults' which can be easily noted by the undeceivable Mithra, with his ten thousand spies (sec 82) He never forgives or forgets the secret faults of a man, "however full may be the bundles of baresma he ties however long may be the sacrifice he performs' (sec 138) He who would delight Mithra must needs be cleansed from his secret faults as the psalm emphasises—mere ceremonial purity counts for nothing in the eyes of Mithra (secs 137-139) Hence the psalm adds 'Let the words of my mouth, and the meditation of my heart, be acceptable in thy sight, O Lord!' (verse 14) The idea of sin constituting a piece of presumption is certainly found in the Mihir Yast, where we are told that one who sins inwardly while performing ceremonies "scorns Mazda, and the other Amesha-spe*n*tas, and Mithra" (sec 139) And finally, the best and most probable interpretation of "*the great transgression*' is to be obtained from the Mihir Yast For, as Prof Jackson puts it, "as the god of light and the day, Mithra is *especially the foe and punisher of perjurers* and those who break their words' The very second verse of Mihir Yast emphasises the enormity of perjury "The ruffian who lies unto Mithra (the *Mithra-druj*) brings death unto the whole country, *injuring as much the faithful world as a hundred evil-doers could do*" This perjury is regarded as *the great transgression*, being a hundred times as injurious as other sins

The last words of the psalm—"*my redeemer*"—also

point to Mithra The Mihir Yast expressly makes Mithra the redeemer of his worshippers for he promises them I should come to the faithful in the appointed time of my beautiful immortal life (sec. 74) It is noteworthy that Mithra was called Mesites" both from his locality under the firmament and because he was "the mediator between the inaccessible and unknowable God who reigns in the ethereal spheres and the human race which lives its restless life here below"[1] In the Old Testament the word "Mesites has been used only once in the Book of Job[2] But it is in the nineteenth psalm that the idea of the mediator is logically carried through For it is the statutes of the Lord that are known through such a mediator, and hence we see why a psalm which was once a hymn to Mithra should necessarily contain in itself a glorification of the Law and Statutes of the Lord. For the mediator is the true voice of the Lord through whom the divine statutes become revealed and known Mithraism was one of the greatest of the mystery religions and we know how fully these religions had developed on the soteriological side They anticipated Christianity in indicating the affinity of man with the divine and in presenting the radiant figure of a Deliverer to the fainting spirit [3]

Thus we find that a very satisfactory and ample commentary can be written on every verse and on almost every phrase of the nineteenth psalm from the point of view of Mithraic doctrine practice and archæology Moreover that commentary does not, like others break up the psalm into *disjecta membra*, but emphasises rather its essential unity For only a knowledge of Mithraic doctrine can unite the three sections of the psalm

---

1 Prof. J Denney in E. R. E VIII. 520

2. IX, 33

3. Prof. T B Kilpatrick in E. R. E., XI 620

(a) the portion relating to the course run by the sun in the heavens,

(b) that relating to the law of the Lord, and

(c) that concerned with "secret faults" and "the great transgression"

As Dion Chrysostom has reminded us, the Magi of Asia Minor compared in their *hymns* the government of the universe by God with the career of a car drawn by four horses which symbolised the four elements[1]. *Here we have a proof that there existed Mithraic or Magian hymns composed on the same linee as psalm 19* The inference is obvious that this psalm was borrowed from a Mithraic source This conclusion is strengthened by comparing or rather contrasting this psalm with the eighth psalm which also refers to the glory of the heavens, the moon, and the stars But in the case of this latter psalm there is no reference or analogy, which can ever be detected, to the doctrine and beliefs of Mithraism It is clear that in the nineteenth psalm we find an important link between Judaism, Christianity and Mithraism, and that it has a special claim on the attention of the student of comparative religion.

QUI EST L'AUTEUR DE L'INSCRIPTION DU KA'BA DE ZOROASTRE?[1]

PAR PROF. ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN

L'inscription pehlvie gravée au pied du "Ka'ba de Zoroastre" et trouvée en 1936 par l'expédition du Chicago Oriental Institute est un document d'une importance extraordinaire tant pour l'histoire de la première période de l'époque sassanide en général que pour notre connaissance de certaines particularités du culte mazdéen de ce temps. Grâce à M. Sprengling qui dans l'"American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures" 1937 a déchiffré tout ce qui semble déchiffrable de cette inscription, dont la première partie est dans un état lamentable, et qui a fait accompagner d'une photographie sa nouvelle étude sur ce sujet dans le vol. 91 du ZDMG, nous avons actuellement les moyens de discuter les détails de l'inscription. Je me borne ici à relever un point capital sur lequel je suis en désaccord avec M. Sprengling.

M. Sprengling incline à rapporter l'inscription en question à Narseh. Je ne trouve en réalité dans son exposé qu'un seul argument à l'appui de cette hypothèse. La 5 ligne de l'inscription commence par deux mots que M. Sprengling lit maintenant x n d a z k r t i p i t k a r, c.-à-d. *handāzkart pat(?)kar*[2] "mesura grava l'image". Et il dit: "Si l'auteur a raison cela s'applique au relief même vers lequel regarde cette inscription au côté oriental du Ka'ba" à savoir le relief qui se trouve le plus vers l'est parmi les reliefs sassanides et qui représente justement le couronne-

1. Communication fait au XX Congrès International des Orientalistes à Bruxelles, Septembre 1938.

2. *Pitkar*—la voyelle brève de la seconde syllabe étant écrite contrairement à la coutume—serait une autre forme de *P tka*—forme développée sous l'influence de l'épenthèse.

Dans les lignes 21-26 il s'agit d'abord de fondations pour les âmes de *Sāsān xvadāy*, de *Pāβak šāh* et des deux fils de celui-ci *Šāhpuhr šāh* et *Ardašēr šāhānšāh* c.-à-d. Ardašēr I, le premier roi des rois de la dynastie sassanide. Suivent trois reines, dont une, *Ādur-Anāhīd*, portant le titre de *bānbišnān bānbišn* "reine des reines", doit être l'épouse d'un *šāhānšāh*; ensuite les quatre princes *Varhrān*, roi de Gēlān (*Gēlānšāh*), *Šāhpuhr*, roi de Mesène (*Mēšānšāh*) *Hormizd-Ardašēr*, grand roi des Arméniens, et *Narsah* roi des Saces (*Sakānšāh*), puis encore quelques princesses. On voit que le seul roi des rois mentionné dans cette partie relativement bien conservée de l'inscription est Ardašēr I. M. Sprengling croit, il est vrai, avoir trouvé dans la suite un Hormizd roi des rois, mais comme dans la lacune considérable qui précède le mot *šāhānšāh* une seule lettre tout au plus est lisible on ne peut pas attacher une grande importance à cette supposition. Dans ce passage du reste, nous n'avons pas une énumération de roi des rois, mais il est question, probablement de vāspuhrs et d'autres personnages qui ont eu quelque relation avec le roi des rois.

Enfin, dans l'énumération des grands seigneurs, ll. 26-29 il est question de personnes qui étaient auprès du roi Pāβak, du roi des rois Ardašēr et du roi des rois Šāhpuhr, et la liste

finit là c'est-à-dire par des hauts fonctionnaires de la cour de Šāhpuhr I

Si Ardašēr I est le seul *šāhānšāh* qui figure dans le passage l 24 de l'inscription Āδur Anāhīδ la seule reine qui y est mentionnée avec le titre de *bānbušnān bānbišn*, aura été probablement l'épouse d'Ardašēr et la mère de Šāhpuhr I la possibilité qu'elle ait été l'épouse de Šāhpuhr I n'étant pas absolument exclue

Mais la preuve décisive de ce que l'auteur de l'inscription est Šāhpuhr I se trouve dans les lignes 21 23 Nous y trouvons une série de noms composés dont le premier élément est *Xusrav* M. Sprengling y voit des noms d'honneur ou des titres composés selon un schéma bien connu dans la société sassanide. Ici cependant, ces noms doivent être expliqués d'une autre manière La formule est constante *Xusrav-X nām paδ x ruvān u paδ nām ātaš* "un feu appelé Xusrav X pour l'âme et au nom de X" Au feu consacré à une personne on a donc donné le nom de la personne en question précédé de *Xusrav* Le passage en question se lit comme suit.

21 [Xusrav] Šāhpuhrē nām (22) paδ amāh ruvān u paδ nām ātaš | Xusrav Āδur-Anāhīδ nām paδ Āδur Anāhīδ (lacune d'environ 30-32 lettres) ātaš Xusrav   Ardašēr nām paδ Hormizd Ardašēr vazurg šāh Armēnān i amāh pus ruvān u paδ nām an ātaš | Xusrav-Šāhpuhrē nām paδ Šāhpuhrē i Mēšān-šāh i amāh pus ruvān u paδ nām ātaš | (23) Xusrav Narsahē nām paδ ērē mazdayasn Narsahē šāh ?andē (? la première lettre est douteuse) Sayastān u Tūrestān tāγ   (lacune)

Le premier *Xusrav* (l 21) a été très justement restitué par M Sprengling. Dans la lacune après Āδur Anāhīδ M. Sprengling a voulu restituer *paδ amāh ruvān* mais les lettres me paraissent absolument illisibles. Nous laissons de côté pour le moment, la question de la restitution Après le Xusrav suivant, M. Sprengling a lu un *š* mais d'après la

photographie, le signe en question peut bien etre lu comme le dernier trait d'un aleph plus un vāv L'analogie prouve clairement qu'il faut lire a v x r m z d , le nom du prince en question étant *Hormizd-Ardašēr* Nous traduisons donc le passage de la manière suivante

"[Xusrav-] Šāhpuhr de nom, un feu pour notre âme et à notre nom; Xusrav-Āδur-Anāhiδ de nom, un feu pour [l'âme et au nom d'] Aδur-Anāhiδ [. . .], Xusrav [-Hormizd-] Ardašēr de nom, un autre feu pour l'âme et au nom de Hormizd Ardašēr, grand roi des Arméniens, notre fils, Xusrav-Šāhpuhr de nom, un feu pour l'âme et au nom de Šāhpuhr, roi de Mésène, notre fils, Xusrav-Narsah de nom [, un feu pour l'âme et au nom de] Narsah, l'Aryen, l'adorateur de Mazdāh, roi . de Sayastān et de Tūrestān jusqu'a . "

Ce passage précieux nous apprend d'abord que l'auteur de l'inscription s'appelle Šāhpuhr En rapprochant les passages de l'inscription étudies ci-dessus, nous ne pouvons douter, que ce Šāhpuhr est le roi des rois Šāhpuhr I Puis, ce roi ayant consacré un feu en son propre nom, nous en inférons que les feux et les messes des âmes dont il s'agit étaient instituees non seulement pour le salut des morts, mais aussi pour celui de personnes vivantes Une troisième information que nous tirons du passage en question est celle, que l'auteur de l'inscription avait trois fils, dont chacun gouvernait une province de l'empire, a savoir *Hormizd-Ardašēr*, *Šāhpuhr* et *Narsah* Un quatrième, *Varhrān* Gēlānšāh, est nomme, nous l'avons vu, dans la ligne 24 Or, il suffit de rappeler que trois fils de Šāhpuhr I ont monté sur le trône de l'Iran, a savoir *Hormizd I* (identique, probablement, a Hormizd-Ardašēr de l'inscription), *Varhrān I* et *Narsah*

Nous pouvons donc affirmer en toute certitude, que l'inscription du Ka'ba de Zoroastre est l'œuvre de Šāhpuhr I

Si Ādur Anāhīδ la reine des reines nommée de nouveau dans la ligne 24 est réellement l épouse d Ardašīr I et la mère de Šāhpuhr I on pourrait restituer par conjecture dans la ligne 22 après Ādur Anāhīδ les lettres m l k t a n m l k t a x i lnh a m i (t r) r v b a n v p t nam (*bānbišnān bānbišn i amāh māδ(ar) ruvān u pas nām*) "pour l âme et au nom d Ādur-Anāhīδ reine des reines, notre mère" restitution qui correspondrait assez exactement à la mesure de la lacune

Après l expédition à Bombay de l article présent, un article très instructif de M W B Henning The Great Inscription of Šāpūr I" a paru dans le Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies IX. 4 p 823-49 Le problème de l auteur de l inscription est traité surtout p. 845 sqq M Henning arrive à la même conclusion que moi et relève en plein accord avec moi le fait que l auteur Šāpuhr I se nomme lui même dans l inscription Quelques divergences dans l'interprétation des détails du passage en question n affectent pas le résultat principal.

SAD DAR VERSIONS AND THEIR AUTHORS

By Dr J C Tavadia, B A, Ph D,

Lecturer, University of Hamburg

Out of the three versions of what is justly called an excellent text-book of Parsism, it is only the latest, the *Sad dar-i bahr-i tavil* of which the authors and date are well known, thanks to the quotation given by Dhabhar The authors are Rustam Asfandiyār and Bihzād Rustam, and the date is 973 A Y (1604 A C)[1] As to the intermediate version *Sad dar nazm*, we also possess unanimous and definite data in the work itself, but the different statements about the name and date are not properly dealt with, and hence not sufficiently cleared up[2] It is, however, the earliest and the best version, *Sad dar nasr*, about the authors of which we have neither unanimity in the MSS nor correct exposition of what is said therein[3]

Now as to the second version, a careful examination of the data has led me to the conclusion that it is prepared by Mard-šāh, son of Malik-šāh, on the 14th October, 1495 A C (= 6-12-864 A Y)[4] In the preliminary remarks where this date occurs the name is different Īrān-šāh, son of Malik-šāh, and so he is generally taken to be the author, and the name Mard-šāh occurring at the end is declared to be that of the copyist by West and others and, since this is not correct, it is

---

1 Dhabar's Sad-dar, Introduction p vi, n 2, 4

2. *Ibid.*, p v, n 3, for more details see Modi's Introduction to Unvala's ed. fo Darab Hormazyar's Rivayat, pp 21-22, and also Rosenberg, 'Livre de Zoroastre,' pp iv-v, and above all Hyde, *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum*, pp 433 ff 438, where the introductory and final remarks are quoted in full

3 *Ibid.*, p viii, West, SBE 24 xliv, 255 n. 3

4 The Christian date is calculated from the common Yazdagardi era, a though the author speaks of the era of Yazdagard's death, that is to say, of the so called Parsi era which is later than the former by 20 years,—for this unreal fashion, see S H. Hodivala's *Studies in Parsi History*, 276 ff.

altogether doubted but not sufficiently explained as Rosenberg says. The fact, however is that the reference to Īrān-šāh is not about his authorship but about his help, whatever it may be in the versification guidance from him was a grace and help that this invaluable pearl was bored[5] Only if the name Mard šāh be really doubtful that is, if the word simply indicates in an indirect and obscure manner the other name the verses about Īrān-šāh should be considered as referring to the author himself although they are in the third person and what is more objectionable laudatory[6] But there is no real reason to doubt the name Indeed it is not yet met with elsewhere but Justi's *Iranisches Namenbuch* records several instances of Mardān-šāh and Šāh mard and just as there occurs the inverse form Šāh mardān so there may have existed the inverse form Mard-šāh as well cf. also Mard-šād beside Mardān-šād

As to the difference observed by Modi of one full year in the Muhammadan date at the end can we say that since the author writes on the fourteenth of the first month he refers to the year 900 just finished and not to the year recently begun which moreover is expressed in the chronogram only? In that case there will be no difference If not we must consider the preliminary remarks with the later date as a later addition by the author[7] Mard-šāh wherein he also refers as I explained to the help rendered by Īrān-šāh—very probably in the final revision of the work and hence the later date by one year appears quite natural and not at all abnormal

---

5. The word *vilāyat* is th to be taken in the sense of guidance or the like and not in that of 'country district' for that alone suits the verse both grammatically and syntactically cf. is the variant of *Hidāyat* which support this view

6 As to the third person one may quote the first verse of the *Zardušt nāma*, and also for the self-praise instances can be found but the difference is so great and obvious in the other case that it cannot be supported.

7 It is neither necessary nor even likely to think of a reader any one of the dastūrs referred to in the preceding verses making this addition by way of approval.

One word about the relation of the author and his guide, they are supposed to be brothers because of the common name of the father, but the reference does not create an impression of having been made to a brother but rather to a stranger 'some one in the service of the congregation of the dastūrs'

Concerning the prose *Sad dar*, some MSS mention its author in the introductory chapter § 6, but since others omit this, it is considered to be an interpolation[8] This is not a fair conclusion, for the MSS that omit it are not in any way superior, on the contrary, they are prepared in India and seem to be late I think that no importance was attached to such historical details and hence § 6 is omitted. However this may be let us see what it says

'In this time I, a servant of the religion, Bahman (son of) Paydar (have written) from the book of the mōbad of mōbads Īran-šāh, son of Īzad-yār, son of Tištar-yār, son of Ādarbād The words added are suggested by the context and can be supported from two Iranian MSS[9] West did not take Pāydār as proper noun but translated the phrase thus "I (am) confirmed by the book", which is hardly possible In a case like this no writer will omit to mention at least one of his forefathers. Indeed the name is strange but it is neither quite improbable nor quite unknown It is almost the same as Pādār, Arabic Fādar, which Justi records as that of a scholar and his son from Abhar near Ispahan, and if this be doubtful, we have the

---

8 See n 8

9 One MS, dated 1179 A Y, is quoted by Dhabhar in his 'Saddar', p viii (I wanted to consult it in connection with my work on the Old Gujarātī translation of the *Sad dar nasr*, but I am told that it is no longer in the collection now passed on to the Cama Oriental Institute Is it then lost or lying elsewhere?) The other, now numbered 610, is placed at my disposal from the same collection Therein is a postscript by Ardašir Bihrām ibn Ardašir with the date, day Ōrmazd, month Šawwāl, year 1178 Strangely enough the name of the day is Zoroastrian, but that of the month is Muhammadan, hence the year without any mention of the era may be Hijri and not Yazdagardi. Other questions about the MS will be dealt with elsewhere, but see nn 11, 17

most clear and valuable proof for that very name borne by a Zoroastrian authority[10]

Moreover both of those Iranian MSS give some more details about the history of the work but in different versions. That in the new MS seems to be clear and logical and hence it is translated first, of course quite literally Then along with it and further in the notes 12-12 14 are discussed the variants that affect the sense in a considerable manner

But after (these observations[11] let us come to the matter) know that this is a book about the Proper and Improper which dastūrs and mōbads have expounded[12] in the Zand and Pāzand from the good religion of the Mazdāh worshippers[12] and have established under the name *Sad dar* so that it may be easy for the followers of the good religion. In those days (= formerly first) Xusrau-šāh son of Ādarbād the mōbad of mōbads, translated (it) from the Pahlavi writing into the Dibīrī[13] (=Persian) writing And

---

10. *Dārāb Hormazyār's Ri āyat* (ed. Unvala) I 280. 2, where an enjoinment f Hā bad Pāydār from the (or in his ?) book of Religious Customs (*dīn dastūrī*) i referred to. The matter i taken from the Ri āyat of Kāmā Bōhrā, dated 596 A. Y. (1527 A. C.), see S. H. Hodivala's *Studies n P si History* 296 ff also West in *Grundriss* 2. 126 (7). Fo the present we cannot decide whether any conclusion about the *Sad dar* can be drawn f om thi reference, as is done in n. 13.

11. These consist of remarks on the utility of faith in the religion, and then blessings on the prophet and his ministers and other observations as in the edition but in an expanded form and also in a different orde These must have been given i the other MS. also, to judge from the idiomatic phrase *ammā ba d* at this point — Ma k also that the reference to Bahman Pāydār is in the third person, which means that some one else ha w itten, or rather revised and enlarged thi introduction—and also, perhaps oth chapters here and there. Their order too, i different, more like that of the m trical versions. A comparativ study of all of them is desideratum, and it will not be fruitless.

12—12. Or according to the other MS. extracted from the 'good religion of the Mazdāh worshippers—(namely) from the exposition of the Zand— This means that the Persian *Sad da* is derived from general Pahla i sources, but not from a particula Pahlav work f the same name *Sat dar*

13. This is a novel expression, the sense of which is simply 'script' like that of its Pahlav original *dipīrīh* but when we take it a *the* script common at the tim and place of th write it means the Persian script and consequently the Persian language. Also as matter of fact we know that Bahman's writing in Dibīrī mentioned in the next clause, is nothing but Persian.

secondly Bahman, son of Pāydār, wrote[14] (it) in the Dibīrī (= Persian) writing from the book of the mōbad of mōbads Īrānšāh, son of Īzad-yār, son of Tištar-yār, son of Ādarbād,— so that the follower of the 'good' religion who reads (it)... may bring to bear forgiveness unto their souls'.

There is not, nor ever was, any doubt as to the Pahlavi origin of a part of the *Sad dar*, but here we learn that there was actually a book therein of that name, the exact pronunciation of which should be *Sat dar* This may be an exaggeration, at least it is not supported by the other MS[15] But both agree as to the name of the authority who first prepared the work from that source He is different from the three dastūrs—Vardasto (or Vardasat?), Mēdiyōmāh, and Siyāvušān—mentioned in the *Sad dar-i bahr-i tavīl*, but this notice requires proper investigation Then our passage mentions Bahman Pāydār as the second person who wrote the work in Persian from the book of Īrān-šāh Īzad-yār It is not clearly stated that this book was in Pahlavi, but we are left to conclude so If this conclusion be wrong, and the book of Īrān-šāh Īzad-yār was also in Persian as the other MS suggests[16], Bahman Pāydār can still be said to have compiled his work from it and not merely copied it, for even the words *nakl nimūda* of the other MS allow that interpretation, and we can also ascertain his actual share See n 17

---

14 From this point onward the other MS is still less clear and logical, but it purports to say that Bahman Pāydār 'compiled from the book of the mōbad of mōbads'—presumably Īrān-šāh Īzad-yār who is mentioned just below with the addition that he 'brought in the Dibīrī (= Persian) writing what the dastūrs and mōbads and wise (or learned) ones had expounded from the Zand and Pāzand and Avestā',— or see above the other version and read rather 'in the Zand and Pāzand of the Avestā' — The quotation ends here, and so we cannot say whether the last clause occurs in this MS. or not

15 See n 12 - 12

16 See n 14 Unfortunately the colophon of the MS Lp used by West is incomplete owing to the loss of the folio (SBE 24, xli), and hence we cannot say what part was attributed there to Īrān-šāh Īzad-yār, and what, if any, to Bahman Pāydār, — for whose share see n 17

In any case, we are here informed about two attempts at preparing a Persian manual from Pahlavi materials and there is no reason to doubt this information. We do not know what happened to the work of Xusrau-šāh Ādarbād but that of Īrān-šah Īzad yār has come down to us through Bahman Pāydār and if this name is not omitted by mistake in the MS Lp[17] also directly As to the third attempt the combined one of the three dastūrs it can be said to be represented by the long-metre version but as we remarked above this notice requires further investigation

Unfortunately no dates are given and for the present we too have no means to ascertain them[18] This question

17 Thi MS., followed by West, i defective at the poi t *man di band dīn mōbad ērān-šāh bin yazad-yār* ... I, servant of the rel gion like the mōbad I ān-šāh son of Izad yā ... —without any erb and with the common like before the name. A e we to suppose that th name of Bahman Pāydār is left out by mistake just as the verb is left out? If yes, then the edited nd translated text of the *Sad dar-i nasr* should be attributed to him. If not th it main the original work of Īrān-šāh Īzad yā whose claim uthor i att sted by the MS. Lp also, see n. 16 and secondly the activity of Bahman Pāydā s compile should be confined to the numerous additions, rather diffuse than informative found in Iranian MSS. that also m tion his name But West's suggestion (SBE. 24. xiv) that h merely collated the prose *Sad dar* with the metrical version cannot be accepted. For in spit f the resemblance in the order f the chapters, the do exist rema k bl points of diff rence including some n w matter in the MS. I have exami ed, see n. 11. Thi new matter occupying a coupl f chapters is not found in any f the versions and it i by them, instead of th last chapters, that the numbe 100 is reached,—and not by the artificial division of th Gāhānbār chapte s in the long metre *Sad dar*

18. It is only by surmising that Hā bad Pāydār was living or at least recent uthority at the time when quoted and that he was the father of our Bahman Pāy dā can th latte be placed bout 1527 see n. 10 This might agree with his sup posed indebtedness t the metrical version of 1495 but not to that of 1604. There i another but equally poor consideration based upon the dates given by Hodivala, in hi *Studies in Parsi History* 302, 310, of the first despatch of these texts. The metrical version wa sent to India in 1527 that i soon ft it composition. Can we there fo say that the extant prose version wa prepared only few years earlier befor it was sent t India in 1559? This will bring down the dat f t least Bahman Pāy dār if not also of Īrān šāh Īzad-yār. But we shall have lso to hold that the metrical version being then earlie was based upon another prose version.—Apart from thi there i little doubt that th extant text was retouched more than once. It is this procedure that accounts for the Arabi leme t in its language which would not be even four per cent, if it we e directly translated from the Pahlavi original,—of course

must be left for another occasion. A thorough comparison of the different versions[19], most of which are still lying unexamined in known and unknown MSS., with due regard to other circumstantial evidence, is sure to throw some new light on the history of the work once so popular.

---

for this element we are also to consider in which chapters it is specially found. I may as well add that the MS. J15 shows the contrary (!) phenomenon of substituting Iranian words for Arabic ones, probably because they were more familiar.

19. And, as far as the same subjects are concerned, we should include therein the so-called *Sad dar bundahiš*. This name is supported by Dhabhar in his *Sad dar*, p. ix, but West's argument about *Sad darband-i hūš* (or *huš*) remains intact. As to the remark about the latter origin of the name (p. x), note that it is already given in the covering letter when the work was first sent to India, see *Dārāb Hormazyār's Rivāyat*, ed. Unvala, II 459. 14, where it is written *sad darband (i) hūš*. If this reading or orthography is found in the original MS., the name is ascertained without any doubt. In the same place the other text is called *sad dar (i) sad dar*, is it a mistake for *sad-i dar naṣr*?

LE NOM DE LA CHORASMIE

PAR M. J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN

Le nom de la Chorasmie x^v*āiri.zəm* dans l'Avesta, a été interprété par divers savants à la suite de Burnouf (cf. W. Geiger *Ostiranische Kultur*, p. 20 n. 2) comme contenant *zəm-* "terre" et un premier terme **hvāra-* "nourriture" non attesté en iranien ancien. Plus prudemment, Bartholomae s'abstient, mais signale la possibilité de voir dans le premier terme un nom de peuple. Récemment M. E. Herzfeld *Altpersische Inschriften* (1938) p. 183 et note 1 combine l'opinion de Burnouf et la suggestion de Bartholomae mais sans les corroborer, car rien n'indique ni que le toponyme x^v*ār* auquel il fait appel, contienne la racine "manger" ni que la contrée ainsi dénommée au sud du Demāvend ait rien à voir avec le cours inférieur de l'Oxus.

En réalité aucune de ces explications ne résiste à une analyse morphologique du seul nom véritable de la Chorasmie tel qu'il ressort d'une récente étude. M. Benveniste a montré *BSOS* VII p. 269 sq. qu'av. x^v*āirizəm* n'est qu'une avestisation de la forme pehlevie x^v*ārizm*. La seule forme ancienne dont on doive tenir compte est donc v. p. *huvārazmi-* (var. *huvārizmi-*) avec l'adj. *huvārazmiya*.

La finale dénonce le mot comme un bahuvrīhi. Il ne peut donc signifier ni "terre des X̌ʷāra" comme le suggère Bartholomae, ni "terre qui est nourriture" ainsi qu'obligerait à l'analyser l'interprétation de Burnouf, mais seulement à première vue "(région) dont la terre est ..." C'est-à-dire que x^v*āra* doit être un adjectif, et on voit mal comment le rattacher à x^v*ar* "manger" à moins de lui attribuer le sens surprenant pour une épithète de la terre de "comestible". On pourrait songer en désespoir de cause à un **hu-āra* "facile à cultiver" de la racine de gr. ἀρόω lat. *arāre*

etc Malheureusement, celle-ci manque totalement en indo-iranien

En présence de ces difficultés, il ne paraît pas inutile d'engager la recherche sur une autre voie, non exempte, il est vrai d'une forte part d'hypothèse, en coupant *hvā-razmi-*.

Pour expliquer le second terme, on part de la racine *raz-* qui fournit *razan-* etc "règle, commandement", le dérivé *rasman-* n'est attesté qu'avec le sens de "ligne de bataille, phalange", mais il n'est pas interdit de lui attribuer, comme à *razan-* etc, le sens de "commandement" qui est celui de son correspondant latin *regimen* L'*i* final de *h^vārazmi-* s'explique soit comme appartenant à une variante de **razman-* comparable à *staomi-* en face de *staoman-*, soit comme suffixe de bahuvrīhi à partir d'une variante **razma-* Du reste, la forme en *-man-* n'est pas inconnue en second terme de composé Le premier exemple en est *kavā rasman-*, nom propre interprété par Bartholomae comme "possédant des phalanges de kavis", mais qui peut aussi bien signifier "soumis au commandement d'un kavi" Le second exemple se trouve dans le nom propre φαρασμανης, porté par le satrape de Chorasmie auquel Alexandre eut affaire et par plusieurs rois d'Ibérie (cf Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*) Ce nom est intéressant à deux égards sa première syllabe reflète phonétiquement celle de *h^vārazmi-* (cf. *x^varənah-* >φαρνα-) et d'autre part il présente la variante φαρισμάνης qui contient le même *i* que *hvārizmi-*

Le premier terme *hvā-* se retrouve avec son *ā* long dans v-p *hvā-mṛšiyu-* "(la) mort par soi-même" et dans une série de composés avestiques ayant en 1er terme l'adjectif-pronom de 3ème personne[1].

L'ensemble du composé n'est pas sans analogue. En effet, le pronom *sva-* et la racine *raj-* se combinent égale-

1 Il garde peut-être ici la trace ə initial du 2d terme, dont témoignent gr ὀρέγω, ὄρεγμα etc.

ment en sanskrit pour designer un pays *svarājya* "le propre empire *svarāṣṭra* empire indépendant, nom de pays selon Böhtlingk Roth dans le Mahābhārata" Sur le sens exact à donner au second terme de *hvā rasmi* ce qu enseigne M H S. Nyberg dans *Die Religionen des alten Iran* (1938), p. 65 et *passim* projette une lumière inattendue. Selon lui les mots *rā ar rāzan- rāzah* (auxquels s ajouterait notre second terme) signifient dans les gâthâs les "prescriptions religieuses" du milieu d origine de Zarathustra de cette communauté gâthique qui dès avant que Zarathustra n intervienne tranche sur le reste du monde iranien Or on sait par ailleurs (cf notamment l article de M Benveniste cite ci-dessus) que le point de départ de la religion zoroastrienne, l *Airyanəm vaejah-* n est autre que la Chorasmie Cette seconde appellation refléterait dans notre hypothèse le caractère particulier du pays gâthique en le désignant comme la contrée qui possede ses propres prescriptions

NOTES ON THE GREAT INSCRIPTION OF ŠĀPŪR I

By Prof W B Henning

In an article in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol IX, pp 823-849, I have given an analysis of the contents of the recently discovered inscription of Šāpūr I (set up about A D 263), which had been published by Professor Sprengling in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. LIII, pp 126-144, cf ZDMG, Vol 91, pp 652-672 I have tried to show that the first half of the inscription contains an account of the war between the Persians and the Roman empire, A D. 256-261, whilst the second half constitutes a *deed of settlement*, by which Sacred Fires and funds for their maintenance were established in honour of several members of the royal family

Such a *deed of settlement* was called *pātixšaϑi* (*p thšti*) in Pahlavi This word occurs in line 23 ' *dwyn* . YKTYBWN Z*NH* KL'[1] QDM *p thštr* YKTYBWN BL' MN ZK '*hblyt* 'LP[2] ZY MN *t* *pyšyn* 'L L*NH* 'dwyn YHWWN WL*NH* LZNHšn '*twi'n* YHBWN "custom has been written All this has been written on a deed of settlement, apart from those one thousand lambs (?) which since former [.] it was our custom to give[3] to these Fires" The word *pātixšaϑi* occurs several times in the inscriptions of the founder of Sasanian Zoroastrianism, Kartēr, who boasts of the great number of documents he had signed and sealed in his function as Magupat and Ehrpat It is well known, not only from the great number of seals of priests we possess, but also from literary tradition (*e g*, Mātiyān-i

1 Professor Sprengling offers a different reading

2 The proper transcription, of course, would be /1p, in this way the word for "1000" is spelt already in Old Aramaic Papyri

3. A typical Pahlavi construction, *lit*, "it was our custom and we gave".

Hazār Dātistān p. 78 lines 2 sqq p. 93 lines 4 sqq., p. 100 lines 5 sqq ed. J J Modi) that the sealing of documents constituted an important duty of the Magupats The correct meaning of the word[1] has been found by the late Professor Markwart (Ung Jbb VII p. 103), who quoted the later Pahlavi form *pāt̄xar* (Pahlavi Texts II p 112 line 1 ed. Jamasp Asana) and the Armenian Loan-word *patsir* = *dasn* "treaty agreement" Typical passages are Naqš-i Rajab 24 sq Pm KBYR NPŠH ŠM QDM *gty pthštly* W *mtyd n*[2] YKTYBWN YKYMWNt And I have often written my name on testaments[3] agreements (deeds of settlement)[4] and memoirs or Naqš i Rajab 28

1 A re-examination of the meaning of the M ndean LW *pṭ'kr* (see Nöldeke Mand. Gram., p. xxxi WZKM., ol. xvi p. 4) seem ad vable. I M n i Khrat xlvi 5, 16, I prefer N ryosang's reading *pādašāh*

2 Text *r m tn* (error of the copy st) Th correct read ng *m tyd* = Armenian *m tea* = Pahla i *ms tyg* ha alread bee found by N berg Mazdajasn. Rel p. 68 Herzfeld's readi g *m tad'n* *m lyd n* (cf Altpers. I sch p 214) is hardly cor ect. The original meaning f thi ord seem t ha e been memory as is suggested by a Sogdian gloss (see Henning, Manich. Bet und Beichtbuch, p. 128)

3 *gty* = *gett* borrowed from Syriac *gettā* testament = Babyl. *gitt* Thi (or a imilar ?) derivation seems t have been i the mind of Professor Herzfeld (Altpers. I schr pp. 213 sq) whose comparison with *gah āmak* "book of the rank (from *gāhnāmak* cf. Armenian *gah* "place rank etc.) and Arabic *jahbad* (Maf tih al-Ulum, p. 64 line 9 p 65 li 18) ca hardly be accepted. The *jahbad* (*ǰahbid*) was neither a "rol t w rden (thus Herzfeld, Paikuli, s v gty) nor (nd still less) a "naqīb al-arrāf" but tax-minister who was chosen by the population of a provi ce and wh w s ponsible toward the government for the punctual payment of the taxes (particularly the *Xarāj*) whilst the tax-payers in thei tur pledged themselves towards him. H naturally had to keep book ca efully and t present lodi g account t the end of each month (*Zalmah*) and f each year (*l-X tm h b-ǰām h*) He also had t be an expert in mone -sorts, etc. (hence late th de ived meaning "expert). It belonged to his major dutie to gi alid receipt (*barā' h*) to those t x pay rs who had fulfilled their duties. A detailed nd inter sting ccount f the office f *jahbad* i contained in th Tāri X i Qumm, pp 149 sqq (S. H. T qizadeh ha kindly drawn my attention t this p ssage) The Persian form, *gahbad* is used by Fird u i (see Wolff's Dictionary p 675) and mentioned by Asadi (p. 83 ed. Horn), cf. also Samad Fax r i p. 85

4 Cf. also Herzfeld, Altpers. Inschr pp. 211 sqq. Against Herzfeld, I do not believe that *pāt'Xsar* could be connected with Pahlavi Inscr *ptiXsar* (*ptxšy*) Man. MPers. *padiXsar* *pahiXsar* The meani g of the latt r words honour respect, eneration (against Herzfeld) i well estabi shed from innumerable passages. We also have Sogdian gloss *pt'fryy* (M 172, later *ptby* Buddh. Sogd. *ptβy* honour veneration see Müller Lentz, B. T II p. 614 n. 1). Further the Parthian

MNW . *p'thštly m'tyd'n 'γwp gty*[1] *'γwp* 'HRN *n'mky* HZYTNt "who will see an agreement, memoir or testament or any other writing"

Unfortunately the passage which determined the capital sum (= *γwāstak* in the juridical language) to be given to the church in respect of the new foundation is too much broken to permit of a satisfactory interpretation As we are told, however, that Šāpūr was in the habit of giving one thousand *'kblyt* (annually) before his new decree, we may safely conclude that the new *γwāstak* also was defined in terms of *'kblyt* That *'kblyt*[2], which tentatively I have translated "lamb" in the above passage, denotes some kind of animal, has been proved by Professor Bailey, BSOS, ix, p 232 It is clear from our inscription that the *'kblyt* was used also in sacrificial ceremonies, passages like Vīdēvdāt 18, 70 *hazaŋrem anumayanąm frāvrnuyāt* "he shall sacrifice one thousand sheep" (cf Yt viii, 58, *pasūm hē pacayən*) seem to suggest that the word was employed for sheep rather than for goats (as Sprengling assumes, ZDMG 91, pp 663 sqq) Passages referring to animal sacrifice in the Pahlavi literature have been collected by Tavadia, Sūr Saxvan, pp 14 sqq

After the sentence on the *'kblyt*-capital presented by the king, we find a series of well-defined orders for its administration The first two orders are unconditional, while a condition is attached to the third All three of them stipulate the daily offering of certain gifts "for the soul"[3] of a great

---

equivalent, *pdyšfr* (frequent , also *pdyšfr'wnd* = MPers *pdyγšr'wnd* = *padišfar* should be considered. Bartholomae, ZAir Wb p 85, correctly derived *padišfar* from *patišγwar* and compared Skt *abhisvar-* "praise" From OIran *patiš-γuar* we have not only MPers *padiγšar*, but also OPers *pātiš(γ)uvari* = Πατεισχορεῖς, name of a *Persian* clan (' the honoured ones'')

1 Text *gtky* (perhaps error of the copyist)

2 Fr Müller's theory that the group of words *albarīt*, *dōbarīt*, etc is nothing but an invention of the authors of the 'Frahang' (cf Geiger, WZKM, 29, p 311) should be considered seriously A compound form *'l* 'one ' is not known in Pahlavi that it should stand for *ī* (from *ēi*) is hardly possible *blyt*, of course, might be *-brīt* "shorn", cf *e g* Wakhi *tarīn-* *tarīt* "to shear" (Morgenstierne, Indo-Iran Front Lang ii p 547), NPers *mūi burrīdan*, therefore "once shorn", "twice shorn", etc ?

3 See BSOS, ix p 847, cf also Bartholomae Mir Mund., ii, pp 10 sqq

number of members of the royal family (past and present) and certain other persons. The amount of the daily gifts is equal[1] for all the persons mentioned. The gifts consist of *ŠBlyt 1 LHM g I h 1*[2] *HS p II*, i.e. one lamb and a quantity of bread (i.e. *drōn* cakes) and wine (*HS* = Pahl. ...)[3]

The first order (end of line 23 to beginning of line 24) concerns the king himself: ZK *prm yømy* YK *ym ŠBlyty*[4] PWN LNH *lwbn* YWM L YWM *ŠBlyt* 1 LHM *g* 1 *h* 10 HS *p* 10, "This I order that there shall be made[5] day by day for our soul one lamb etc."

The second order refers to members of the royal family (lines 24-26): PWN *s s n* ZY MRWHY ... W *whrmzd wdhtky* ZY *shkn* MLK BRTHY[6] [*lwbn*[7] *ŠBlyt* 1] LHM *g* 1 *h* 10 HS *p* 10, "(this I order that there shall be made day by day[8]) for the soul of Sāsān the Lord ... and of Ohrmizduxtak, the daughter of the Sakānšah (Narseh), one lamb etc."[7] The list opens with the predecessors of Sāpūr

1. The alternative that the second and third items are to be devoted to the whole group of people mentioned under these headings collectively should also be considered.

2. The measurement ... not yet clear.

3. Wine, of course, was an indispensable ingredient ... ceremony of this kind; cf. e.g. ... op. cit. on the ... ceremony and the ... ceremony. ... Spiegel's interpretation of HS ... letters (ZDMG 91, p. 666) ... wide of the mark. The clear spelling HS (= mai) dispenses with the old explanation of this ideogram (proposed by Haug, accepted by Geiger WZKM., xxvi, p. 201, and Nyberg MO xvii, p. 220) from H ... "must"; explanations, however, should start from that form alone which is used in Pahlavi texts (only HS), not from corrupt Frahang spelling; moreover HS always is "wine", not "must". As measure one should expect ... after HS, see ... Mittelpers. Papyri Berl ... pp. 64 sq. Three kinds of wine are mentioned in the Pahlavi Papyri: *HS i sp i* "white wine", *HS i ...* "red wine" (...) and *HS i ...* "... conditum" (cf. ... Pahl. Texts, I, p. 81, line 6 "to flavour or spice (wine)").

4. On the reading see BSOS ix, p. 845 ... 4.

5. For the expression cf. e.g. Pahl. Ri ... Dd. p. 90, line 9 (ed. Dhabhar) ... *pat ... nd ... mend*.

6. The preceding passage seems to exclude the reading BRTHr.

7. This restoration is required by the meaning as well as the available space.

8. The words ... *ŠBlyt* ... are meant also for the second order.

namely (1) Sāsān, the Lord (*xvatāy*), (2) Pāpak the King, (3) Šāpūr, the King, the son of Pāpak[1], (4) Ardašir, the first King of Kings After them three queens are mentioned (5) a *šahr bānbišn* (6) the Queen of Queens Āturanāhīt Šāpūr's chief wife, and (7) the Queen Dēnak The latter is also mentioned in line 28 (1) Dēnak[2], the mother of King Pāpak, (2) Rōtak, the mother of Ardašir, King of Kings (3) Dēnak, the Queen It seems possible that this Dēnak was the mother of Šāpūr I, she would have lost the title *bānbišnān bānbišn* after the death of Ardašir It is difficult to say what position was held by the *šahr bānbišn* who ranks before even the ruling Queen of Queens, she might have been the (late) predecessor of Āturanāhīt possibly the mother of Ohrmizd I[4]

The four sons[5] of Šāpūr I follow (8) Varhrān Gēlānšāh, the eldest[6] son who apparently did not enjoy the confidence of Šāpūr He came to the throne only after the death of his younger brother Ohrmizd It is noteworthy that his son, Varhrān II, is not mentioned in the inscription The title, Gēlānšāh, is explained through the well-known passage in an oration of Claudius Mamertinus (A D 279) *adscitis Saccis et Cussis et Gellis* (restored by Marquart, Ērānšahr, p 36) For the territories of these three nations

1 Cf Herzfeld, Paikuli, p 86

2. Wrongly called Rāmbihišt by Tabari's source (Noldeke p 4)

3 If this assumption should prove correct, the famous seal of "Dēnak, Queen of Queens" (cf e g Herzfeld, Paikuli, p 75) may have belonged to her usually it is ascribed to Dēnak, wife of Yazdegird II The name Dēnak was fairly frequent in early Sasanian times, besides the mother of Pāpak and the mother of Šāpūr, the wife of the Mēšānšāh Šāpūr bears this name, a Manichaean Polotsky, Man Hom, p 59

4 According to Hamzah (see Justi, NB, s v) the name of the mother of Ohrmizd was Gurdzād possibly a corruption of the name of the šahr bānb šn which unfortunately is nearly illegible (Sprengling -rdušy, might be *ord*). Firdausi's Gulnār (daughter or slave of Ardawān married by Ardašir, called Artaduxt by Agathangelos) need not be considered.

5 See BSOS, ix, pp 846 sqq

6 I am now convinced that the second list of the sons (line 24) represents the order of the sons according to age

were appointed the *Sakānšāh* the *Kušānšāh* and the *Gīlānšāh* (9) Šāpūr Mēšānšāh He must have disappeared between the date of our inscription and the accession of Ohrmizd. It is only with considerable hesitation that I mention a possible reference to him in the last chapter of the Persian Jāmāspnāma[1] one Šāpūr son of Šāpūr is listed as having ruled for one year (*i. e.*, a few days) between Šāpūr I and Ohrmizd I if any value could be attached to this curious statement which contradicts all other sources one might consider an unsuccessful and quickly suppressed rising on the side of Šāpūr against his brother (10) Ohrmizd Ardašir = Ohrmizd I (11) Narseh Sakānšāh = Narseh King of Kings. In discussing[2] the fuller title given to him in line 28 I had assumed that *t?wrstn* referred to Tokhāristān It is, however unlikely that Tokhāristān ever belonged to the domain of a Sakānšāh I should therefore, prefer to regard *t?wrstn* as an unusual form of the name *Tūrān* (Tūrān i. e., the country of the Tūrānšāh around Quzdār)[3] For *Tūrān* *Tūristān* one might compare *Makurān* Pahl. *Makuristān*[4]

Various members of the royal family conclude this list. We may mention (A) the chief wife of Narseh Šāpuhrduxtak the Sakānbānbišn his second (in rank) wife, Narsehduxt[5] the Sakānbānūk his daughter Ohrmizduxtak[6]

1. I ha been privileged to see th forthcomi g edition by Prof ssor M ulina in galley-proofs.

2. BSOS. ix, p. 846, n. 6.

3 Cf. ZDMG 92, p. 7

4 Kārnāmak 4, 14 (not accepted by Ma quart Erānšahr p. 39); Bundahišn, p. 66, line 9 ed Anklesaria (read M ?olletin by Chri tensen, K yanides, p 82 n. 6)

5. It is, I belie uselss t attempt determination of the exact relation f these persons merely from thei name name uch a Šāpūr Narseh, etc. were too frequently employed by the Sasanians see lso the following not

6 I do not think that there can be y doubt that "Ohrmizduxtak the daughter of the Sakānšāh wa the daughter of the man wh th oughout the inscription i referred to a Sakānšāh, i. e. Narseh If it i established that N rseh's daughter was called Ohrmizduxtak we can no longer conclude that the name f th father f one, e. g. Šāpūrduxt(ak) was Šāpūr (theopho c names such Mihrduxt constitut a different case Oh mizd- it is true, i ambiguous).

(B) the son of Ohrmizd I, Hormizdak, if we were not told that the prince *Ormies*, who revolted against Varhrān II, was a brother of the then ruling king, we had to consider his identity with Hormizdak who as the only son of Ohrmizd I had every right to the throne (C) six sons of Šāpūr Mēšānšāh, namely Hormizd, Hormizdak, Artābaχt, Varhrān, Šāpūr and Pērōz (*prywzy*[1]), his daughter, Šāpūhrduχtak In line 29 his wife, Dēnak, the Mēšānbānbišn, is mentioned; (D) Pērōz, the Prince (BRBYT'), the brother of Šāpūr I, protector of Mani, Great Kušānšāh during the first period of Šāpūr's reign It is clear from our inscription that the title BRBYT' = *vispuhr* was reserved for members of the royal house. A son of Pērōz, Narseh, occurs in line 30 (*nrshy* ZY BRBYT' ZY *prywzhn*[2]) According to Herzfeld, Pērōz is still mentioned in the Paikuli inscription (Parthian version line 14', C'13), however, the reading of the name (*prwš* [sic])[3] cannot be regarded as certain (E) Narseh, the Prince (*nrshy* ZY BRBYT')[4] brother of Šāpūr I whose daughter *Duχtnōs* (Dinawari) or *Anōšak* (Firdausi *Nōša*) was abducted by "Daizan", the king of Ḥatra (see Noldeke, Tabari, p 36, n 1). Immediately after Narseh the inscription names *?lwdwhty'* ZY *dwhšy* ZY *'nwšky* BRTH = "?Rōduχt, the virgin[6], the daughter of Anōšak" It seems clear that this princess was the grand-daughter of Narseh, the daughter of Anōšak and the king of Hatra[7] It is noteworthy that the name of her father (who had been

---

1 An antiquated spelling for Pērōz, in accord with the etymology

2 Sprengling *plywlhn.*

3 Cf AMI, vii, pp 59 sqq

4 Sprengling's reading *'whrmzdy* MLK'NMLK' W *mtrnrshy* ZY BRBYT' cannot of course, be accepted Before *nrshy* probably we have MLK'NMLK' 'MY, that suggests the restoration [*hwtky* ZY *'rthštr*] MLK'NMLK' 'MY, cf line 28 It is true that one would not expect a person whose name is included in the first or second order to be re-mentioned in the third order, some exceptions to this rule, however, can be observed

5 The first letter is uncertain

6 Cf *dwhšy*, Mordtmann, ZDMG, 18, p 29 nr 75, Man MPers *dwxš*

7 Perhaps even 'Daizan's" treacherous daughter?

killed by Sāpūr) has been suppressed In the Paikuli inscription (line 7) one [B 9] *nrshy* [B 10] ZY BRBYT ZY [S is mentioned should Professor Herzfeld's restitution of the last word as *ssnkn* prove correct[1] this Narseh could not be the same person as Narseh son of Ardašīr I For after BRBYT a patronymic should be expected so that BRBYT ZY *ssnkn* would mean 'the Prince the son of Sāsān" 'the Sasanian BRBYT" would be a tautology

To the third order for the administration of Šāpūr's gift a condition is attached (line 26) *kblyt* ZY *p lyk* ZK D *plwd't ndwm*[2] PWN I H'n *lwbn* MNW MLKN MLK *prm t[y] lwbn* YDBHWNtn W *nmesty* PWN *npšty*[3] QDM *stny* YKTYBWN YKYMWNt YWM L YWM *kblyt* LHM *g t h r* Hs *p tr* The remaining *kblyt as long as there is enough left*[4] for the souls of those persons whose souls the King of Kings has ordered to worship and who are mentioned by name in writing in (this) place viz day by day one kblyt bread etc. It is clear that secondary importance only is attached to the persons mentioned after those words There are three lists (I MNW QDM *pky* MLK YHWWN (26/27) (II) MNW QDM *rthštr* MLKN MLK YHWWN (27) (III) MNW QDM *shpwhry* MLKN MLK YHWWN (29) *i e* the persons who were before (= served under) (I) Pāpak (II) Ardašīr I (III) Šāpūr I"

Eight persons only are mentioned as assistants of Pāpak the last two are *shpwhry* ZY *wrycnyk n*[5] and *shpwhry*

---

1 The Parthian version is incomplete (line 6 A 11 nearly illegible line 14 15 C 14 illegible C 1 Lacuna before s k).

2 A curious explanation of these words (i*ter-dūt-ende* ... "those who ... re within the father-h ...") has been offered by Sprengling (I pp. 141 sq).

3 For the correct interpretation of the last three words see Nyberg, ZDMG 91 p. 669

4 *plwd* = ... to "suffice" cf *palūn* *palūy* and *palūk* *ndwm* "as long (as)" as known from Manichaean texts, see Andreas-Henning Mir Man. II p. 337 cf Mir Man. I, p. 209 ... *ndwm*.

5 Sprengling *wrydyk'n*.

Zy mtlwcn'n[1] "Šāpūr, of the family Vēžan"[2], and "Šāpūr the son of Mihrōžan"[3] Whilst we can fairly assume that the assistants of Pāpak belonged to the aristocracy of the province of Pārs, we find a much more varied list given for the officers who served under Ardašir and Šāpūr. The members of the great Parthian families (Sūren, etc) appear for the first time under Ardašir, they are listed in a strict order, after members of the royal family, and before a number of governors of provinces, etc[4]

Amongst the members of the royal family enumerated in List II (Ardašir) we find three sons[5] of Ardašir I, all of them also named Ardašir as rulers of Marv[6], Kirmān and Sakastān (Marvšāh, Kirmānšāh Sakānšāh), the last Sasanian mentioned is Pāpak, the Hazārupat (Chiliarch) This Pāpak held the important office of Hazārupat still under Šāpūr I (at the time of the Paikuli inscription one Ardašir has this rank, line 16 = C 9). he occurs again at the end of the enumeration of Sasanians in List III, followed only by the Aspapet[7] Pūsai[8] Under Šāpūr we still find Ardašir son of Ardašir I as Kirmānšāh, whilst Šāpūr's son Narseh had become Sakānšāh, and the modest *Marvšāh*

1 Sprengling *mtlwc'n*

2 Justi, NB, p 367, cf also the Parthian spelling *wyjn*, ZDMG, 90, p 5, originally *Vēžan* is a Parthian name

3 = Armenian *Mehružan*, s Hübschmann, Arm Gram, pp 52 sq

4 It is not possible to give a full discussion of all the names and titles here, a few points only shall be made In the following the abbreviation "List II" is used for the list of persons serving under Ardašir, and "List III" for the list of persons under Šāpūr

5 Probably, we know only of Kirmānšāh Ardašir that he was a son of Ardašir I (Nöldeke, Tabari, p 10, cf Sprengling ZDMG 91, p 670)

6 See Sprengling, *ibid.*, p 670

7 Corrected by Sprengling from *'mppt* As *aspapet* (= Armenian *aspet*, Hubschmann, *ibid*, p 109) was the title of the Bagratids, one might consider whether Pūsai was not a Bagratid rather than a Sasanian, however a Bagratid of this name is not known (see the genealogical tree, Justi p 417) One might be inclined to regard *šhpwhry* ZY *šnbythn*, "Šāpūr, the son of Sambit" as an Armenian nobleman (cf Justi, p 814)

8 Sprengling *pr(w)ywd y* The name Pūsai, *pwsdy*, borne by a Kāren, occurs in line 28 (Sprengling *'tr(w)ywd[y]*) See Justi, p 256

had been replaced by the *Great Kušānšāhānšāh* It is however curious that no Kušānšāh or holder of an equivalent office is mentioned under Šāpūr, we have to assume either that Varhrān combined the office of Gīlānšāh with that of Kušānšāh and that his title in line 24 was abbreviated or (less likely) that the hold of the Sasanian rule over the north-eastern provinces was so precarious at the time of the inscription that no Kušānšāh had been appointed[1] Two otherwise unknown brothers of Ardašīr I are enumerated in List III Vardāza (?) the Prince the son of Pāpak and Sāsān the Prince the son of Pāpak[2] Further on Narseh the Prince the son of Žāmāsp[3] and Šāpūr the Bitaxš

The first place amongst the princes in List III is taken by *rthštr ZY nrthštrkn MLK* Ardašīr the King of *Nrthštrkn* or *Nrthštrkn* This name is apparently an abbreviation of *Nwtrthštrkn* = *Nōt Artaxšaθrakān* = *Not Artašrakan* in the Armenian Geography (Marquart Ērānšahr p. 8 nr 10 + 11 note g) = Armenian *Noršrakan* = *Nōd Ardašīrān* (Arab. Hist.), i e the Sasanian name of Adiabene The combination and restoration of the last mentioned three forms of the name is due to Markwart, Provincial Capitals pp 81 sq 105 This Ardašīr King of Adiabene may have been another of Ardašīr I's innumerable sons it is also possible that the town Hazza took its new name *Nōt Ardašīr*[4] (from which the name of the province of Adiabene is derived) from him not from Ardašīr I A British Museum seal (Mordtmann ZDMG 31 pp 583

1 It will be necessary to introduce several modifications into the chronological scheme proposed by Herzfeld for the Kushano-Sasanian coins.

2 Reading (*pp'k*) uncertain

3 Sprengling *ḏ(d)'(spk(h)*) *yhw* the first five letters are probably *z m p-* (cf. Justi p. 109 Herzfeld, Paikuli p. 179 AMI. vii, p 51).

4 For *N't* cf *Nwt Prnbg* = *Vot Farnbag* and *Vwt hwrpnbg* = *V t Xu farnbag* Horn, ZDMG 44 p 655 nrs. 491 and 526 plate Ia. Possibly connected with Sogdian *'n t* "refuge" (cf. Henning, Beichtbuch p. 96). Cf also Justi p. 227 s. *Nawadgiw*?

sqq, nr 1, Horn, ZDMG 44 p 663 nr 567 plate Ib, Herzfeld, Paikuli, p 80, nr 11, Herzfeld, AMI., VII, p 20 with the correct reading except for one minor point) bears the inscription *glmykn W nwtrthstrkn hmrkly* "The Hamārakar (finance minister) of Garamaea and Nor-irakan". At this opportunity I should like to mention the seal of another *Hamārakar* which apparently has been overlooked so far. It is one of those very rare Sasanian seals with a Parthian legend[1], now in the possession of the British Museum. Mordtmann (ZDMG 18, p 50, nr v plate vi) correctly recognised the characters as Parthian whilst Horn (ZDMG, 44, p 658, nr 559, plate Ia, an excellent photograph) read them as Pahlavi. The second word of the legend is clearly *'hmrkr* the first might be *twrys*[2] = *Tawrēz* (= Tabrīz, Armenian *T'awrēš*, *Tawrēž*).

The following order is maintained for the heads of the "Great Families", (etc), who were the most important officers of State after the royal clan: Warāz — Sūrēn — Awandikān Xwatāy — Kāren. We have under Ardašīr Dihēn, the Warāz, Sāsān, the Sūrēn Sāsān, the Awandikān[3] Xwatāy, Pūsai and Gōk[4], Kāren. Under Šāpūr we have Ardašīr, the Warāz, Ardašīr the Sūrēn, Narseh, the Awandikān[5] Xwatāy, Ardašīr the Kāren. That Warāz was the name of a (Parthian) family (or clan) is quite clear from our inscription. Ardašīr, the Sūrēn is also mentioned in the Paikuli inscription, line 16 = 15′

1 According to Herzfeld, Paikuli, p 77, only two Sasanian seals with Parthian inscriptions were known, the Ahmārkar seal is not included in this number. Two further seals with Parthian legend: Mordtmann, ZDMG, 18, p 49, nr. II (certain) and p 50, nr IV (most likely), both on pl VI.

2 Only *t.r š* is certain. The reading *twrys* is, of course, not very likely, one would rather expect a personal name on a seal of this type.

3 Sprengling 'r(w)dr(w)w(r)'n (line 28). *'wndykn* can represent Awandikān, Āwand-, Ōnd, Und-, Ond, Und-, connexion with Andīkān (personal name, cf Hübschmann, Arm Gr, p 18) is not very probable, a suitable geographical term is not known to me. Andijān is out of the question.

4. Also line 84, hypocoristicon from a name containing gō-

5 Sprengling 'w(r)kdykn, "possibly 'w(r)ndykn" (line 30)

(C 4) we find also one Ohrmizd the Warāz[1] in Paikuli (line 7 [= A 2] zd wrz of line 16 = C 11) but he has lost the first place which now is in the hands of Sūrēn. Of other families we have one Spāhpet under Ardašir (none however under Šāpūr) Raz the Spāhpet he occurs soon after the second Kāren. The same person or rather a descendant of this Raz with the same name, is mentioned in Paikuli line 7′ (= A 1) and line 17 (C 2/3) = 15 (C 9)[2]. Also one Mihrān occurs, under Šāpūr but still in a very modest position: Arštāt[3] the secretary the Mihrān from Ray[4] (line 33). That the seat of the family Mihrān was in Ray was known before. A(r)štāt was a current name amongst the Mihrān cf. Aštāt father of Yazdgušnasp (under Pērōz, cf. Justi p. 47). Furthermore it seems that one Zik too is mentioned (line 29 under Ardašir) ... ZY *blwsk n*[5] ZY *zky sy nplk n* = "... the son of BLWSK the Zik the NPLK N"[6]. The spelling *zky* = *Zik* (with short *i*) is not excluded by other sources (cf. Hübschmann Arm. Gr. p. 41, Justi p. 385). A Zik as ambassador of Ardašir to Ardawān: Greek Agathangelos, p. 6, lines 75 and ult.,

1. A different explanation is given by Herzfeld.

2. Under Ardašir one person only is mentioned between the second Kāren and the Spāhpet: his name *prs'n* (cf. also line 32) reminds one of Apursām, one of the highest officers of State under Ardašir (see Nöldeke, Tabari pp. 9, 17, cf. Christensen, L'Iran sous les Sassanides p. 103 n. 2) who could hardly have been left out from the list in our inscription. Although the form of the name Apursām is well attested (Arm. Apršam, Man. MPers. 'bwrs'm, etc.) one could assume fluctuation of final m and n after long ā (as in several other cases); the homonym word for balsam may have influenced the name.

3. ... Sprengling ...

4. Sprengling "the secretary of Mithran who is of the Radh" (I p. 142).

5. Sprengling ... The same patronymic occurs a few words before *Mirhwst* ZY *blwsk n* (29) = Mihrχwāst son of BLWSK (Barwasak ?)". Mihrχwāst also in line 33; cf. Nāmχwāst, Arm. Yazatχvast (Markwart Ung. Jbb. ... p. 119) etc. cf. also Justi p. 205.

6. NPLK N cannot be regarded as patronymical name because BLWSK N already indicates the father's name. Arm. ... cannot be compared. NPLK N if = *nafā ... ān*, could perhaps represent the Parthian form of MPers. ... *kān*, Arm. ... (Nöldeke Tabari pp. 102 sq. Hübschmann, Arm. Gr. pp. 57 sq.)??

Act Greg Arm, p 91, line 11 (ed Lagarde) It seems possible that we have the name of a Persian family in *'Amyk* (Amik ?)[1] under Papak (line 27), under Ardašir (line 28) and under Šāpur (line 31) Members of the Sasanian clan who are too distantly related to be regarded as belonging to the royal family have *ssnykn* = Sasanikan after their name (lines 33,34, for *s'pstn*, cf Justi, p 287), cf. *Σασανικάν*, Gr Agathangelos, p 5 line 37 Beside Sasanikan, we have Sasanakan in Parthian (Paikuli, line 37' F' S) and in Armenian (Hubschmann Arm Gr, p 72)

We had seen that both in the second and third lists an Awandikan Xwatāy (*'wndykn MRWHY*) is enumerated between the Sūrēn and the Karen This title already is known from the Paikuli inscription, Parthian version line 22' (p 106) *'wndykn hwtwy* Probably it is to be restored also in the Pahlavi version of Paikuli line 8, B 2 *['wnd]ykn MRWHY*[2] Herzfeld's explanation of the title as "Lord of Avanti" cannot be maintained any longer It was, perhaps, not very likely that a king of Avanti, in the heart of India, ever should have acknowledged the Sasanian king as his suzerain, that he should appear as one of the highest officers of the Sasanian State under Ardašir I, is quite impossible At the end of the Paikuli inscription a great number of MRWHY's is mentioned, most of whom Professor Herzfeld has attempted to identify with Indian or Saka rulers For instance, he takes the *zwl dryn MRWHY* (line 46 = H 7) as King of Surāstra, assuming *zwl d-* to be an imperfect rendering of a Prakrit form of Surāstra But according to the rules of Pahlavi orthography, *zwl d-* indicates the ending *-āy* not *ā* + dental We may, perhaps get a clue to the right direction where we should look for

---

1 Might also be title, etc.

2 Herzfeld's restoration of the passage (Warhrānikān Xwatāy) has not convinced me

3 Cf also Herzfeld, AMI, vii, p 61 The equation Pahlavi *zwl'dcyn* = Parthian *zwrdtšn* is rather doubtful For *zwl'd-* one might consider Armenian *Dzor(an)* the region around Bitlis, see Hübschmann, Indogerm Forsch, vol xvi, p 447

rulers such as the *mol dcyn MRWHY* from the legend of a seal which, as far as I know has not been utilized for the solution of this problem Mordtmann ZDMG 18 pp. 15 sq nr 25 plate II *gwšky ZY mwkšdcyn MRWHY* = Gōšak[1] the Lord (ıxxan) of Moqšāy" i e., obviously Syriac (*Beth*) *Moqsāye* Armenian *Mokk* to the south of the Van lake[2]

Amongst the numerous persons who are mentioned as faithful servants of Sāpūr Kartēr[3] the Ēhrpat (*krtyr ZY yhrpt* line 33) merits attention This, of course is the man to whom we owe such a great number of Pahlavi inscriptions (Naqš i Rajab, Naqš i Rustam etc.) He occurs also in the Paikuli inscription Parthian version line 15 (= C' 6) *krtyr hwrmzd mgw [pty]*. These words should not be translated The Kartir Ohrmizd the Magupat" (as if Ohrmizd were his name) but Kartēr the Magupat of Ohrmizd i e of King Ohrmizd I We know from his own inscriptions (particularly Naqš-i Rajab lines 27-30) that Kartēr received from Sāpūr I the title Kartēr the Magupat and Ēhrpat"[4] from Ohrmizd I and Varhrān I the title Kartēr the Magupat of Ohrmizd"[5] and from Varhrān II the title 'Kartēr the Magupat of the late Varhrān and (?) Ohrmizd"[6] In our inscription at least Kartēr is clearly used as a personal name still it is possible that originally was an honorary title

---

1. Ecythian *C* *ealos* (Justi p. 118 W Miller Ossetisch p. 6) Arm. *gusak* "inf rmer" etc. (cf leo Schaede Iranica p. 5)

2. *I ewac'n MRWHY* (Paikuli line 46 = H 11) probably "the Lord f Lāsom i G ramaea. I should much prefe to identif *mek* s (MRWHY ibid. H 6) with Mōqān, Armenian Mukan (cf. M rquart Ērānšahr p. 125)

3. On the iginal mea i g f th word, see BSOS ix p. 84 cf. *Altyl* in u inscription line 34 *Altyl shpwhry* on a seal, M rdtmann, ZDMG. 18 p. 37 114 plate I cf Justi p. 158. See also Polotsky's uggestion Man. Homil p. 45 n. 2. I withdraw my explanation f Copt *Kardel* now and accept Polotsky' identificatio with Kartēr

4 *krtyr ZY mgwpt W yhrpt.* 5. *k tyr ZY ohrmzdy mgwpt* (=Pa kuli).

6. *krtyr ZY bwhtlwbrn wlhrn Zy 'whrmzdy mgwpt* El. h f the l to V the M. of O (possibly by mistake?) thi passage might f vour the int pretation Magupat of (God) Ohrmizd

The Dapirpet Ohrmizd (line 33), whose son Ohrmizd is enumerated immediately before himself, was known from a Manichaean fragment, see ZDMG, 90, p 9 In *wyrwd* (line 31) we have a good example of the proper Pahlavi spelling of the ending *-ōy*, *-ōi* to which Noldeke had devoted a careful study (Pers Stud, I pp 1 sqq), we had seen that the ending *-ai* (Noldeke *ibid* pp 29 sqq) is spelt *-dy* (e g, *pwsdy* = *Pūsai*, see above), for *wyrwd* = *Wērōy* cf. *wyrwd ZY whwn'm* BRH = "Wērōy, the son of Wahunām" (seal Mordtmann, ZDMG, 29, p 206, nr 16, see Justi, p 366), Persian *Vērōy*, Arm *Veroy* (Justi, p 371)

At the end of these notes I should like to draw attention to a person of whom, I believe, we possess *two* seals His name is *gwndply ZY 'dwk'n* "Gundafarr, the son of DWK" (line 31) In his second article on Sasanian seals (ZDMG., 29) Mordtmann published a seal with the legend *gwndply* ZY *dpywr* ZY HDYWY BR*H* = Gundafarr, the secretary, the son of *HDYW* (p 207, nr. 17), the correct reading and arrangement of the legend has been found by Horn (see Justi, p 369, rejected by Justi, additions opp p xxvi). It has, however, not been recognised that on the same plate Mordtmann has published another seal of the same man, p 210, nr 33, *gwndply* ZY *dpywr* ZY HDWNY BR*H* = Gundafarr, the secretary, the son of *HDWN* (Mordtmann's drawing is not satisfactory, an erroneous reading is given by Justi, p 248, nr 23, and additions opp p xxvi)[1] There can be little doubt that *HDYWY* and *HDWNY* are both misreadings of the same name, *viz*, *'DWKY*

---

1 I do not know the present whereabouts of these two seals I regret to have overlooked that the proposal to connect MPers *hayār* etc. with Arm *hdbry'* (BSOS, ix, p 844, n 2) had been made before by Professor Herzfeld, AMI, vii, p 61 n, for *ayāt*, etc., see Beichtbuch, p 108, and compare the spelling *'byd't* (seal Mordtmann, ZDMG, 31, p 588, nr 9) I accept Salemann's combination of MPers *hmys* with OPers. *hamuθ^r^iya* now (against my former proposal Skt sammisla) OPers should be read *hamm̥θ^r^iya* MPers *hammis*, later *hāmis* (cf *pāsuχ*), still later *hāmist* (*xāmest*) with unetymological *t*, Parthian *hmyr* = *hammīr* from *hammihr*, Sogdian *āmerθ* (see Beichtbuch, p 111, BSOS, ix, p 825, n. 1).

SOME NOTES ON A FEW IMPORTANT PAHLAVI WORDS AND CONSTRUCTIONS

BY ERVAD RUSTAM DINSHAH DASTUR MEHERJIRANA

"The Book of Ardā Virāf Gōsht i Fryāno and Hādokht Nask" was published by Dastur Hoshangji and Dr Martin Haug in 1872 with a complete glossary of the same by Dr West in 1874 A. Barthelemy published in 1887 his French translation of the "Ardā Virāf Nāmak and in his Une Légende iranienne the same author gave a translation in French of the tale of "Gōsht i Fryān in 1889 F Muller brought out his "Beiträge zur Erklarung des Artai Virāf Nāmak und des Dzōst i Friyān in 1892.

Since the publication of these works Pahlavi scholarship has greatly advanced and as a result of the study of these texts I give here some notes on a few important words and constructions with the idea that they may be useful to Pahlavi scholars.

(1)

AVn 4 19 (text P 18 6)

[Pahlavi] *dil va jān dōst* charming to the heart and soul (So Hoshangji Haug and AVn glossary by West)

Here the personal appearance beauty and symmetry of form *(kehrp)* of a maiden are described as in Yt. 17 11 where *dareghō-angusta* having long fingers is one of the epithets describing the grace and beauty of the maiden s person so, the three separate words must be here taken as a compound and read [Pahlavi] *dērang-angūst* long fingered Cf Unvala KH. § 96 (p 35) — [Pahlavi] *angūstān derang* with long fingers See also Hn II 23

(2)

AVn 4 35 and 17.26

[Pahlavi] *Aūhrmazd dēr yazishnīh* "long worship

of Auhrmazd", *Gana mināē dēi-yazisnīh* "long execration of the Evil Spirit" (See also glossary, p 287)

Here, in the two phrases, the same word is read *dēi yazisnīh* with reference to Auhrmazd and *dēr-yazisnīh* with reference to Ahriman Perhaps two different readings of the same compound word are given by the authors on the supposition that a religious distinction should be made between the righteous and the wicked just as in Avestā and Pahlavi different terms are used for the creatures of Ahura Mazdā and Angra Mainyu as also for their actions and qualities But we do not meet with any such distinction elsewhere in Avesta and Pahlavi literature, as to this particular case in question, i e, the word *yazisn* is found used both for Ahura Mazda as well as for Angra Mainyu, e g cf the following Pahlavi phrases —

yazisn-i dēvān, Vd 7 53, (see Hoshangji's 'Vendidād', p. 280 7)

Auhrmazd-yāzakīh (Sanjana DK, Vol VIII, p 394)

dēv-yāzakīh, (*ibid*, p 394) Cf also the use of the word *yazāite* in Vd 17 1

In connection with this, it may be noted that the word *dīn* 'religion' is used of both Ahura Mazdā and Angra Mainyu. e. g AVn 68 13 West rightly remarks in his glossary (p 167) that "it [*Dēn*] also stands for the 'service' of Akharman" See also Sanjana, DK Vol. 19 1 (ll 8-9) where *Aharman dīn* is used

Thus, in both cases here, *dēi-yazisnīh* is the correct reading (See Tavadia, ŠnŠ, p 9 § 12)

(3)

GF I 4, 9 and glossary, p 176

dād-parish, 'negligent of the law', 'remiss in the observances' West, in his Glossary (p 98), says that 'both reading and meaning want confirmation' (See Hoshangji and

Haug's translation pp. 249-50.) Both the sections where this compound word occurs should be read as follows —

(4)

(9)

Thus *dād parīš* which is taken as one word by the editors should be read *dāt frēh* as two separate words *dāt* = age (NP داد) and *frēh* = 'much more' cf. (Av *frāyah*, NP فر) *Frēh* is written variously in Pahlavi thus —

Cf. Y 49.4 (Sp. 48.4 p. 186) where *frēh* is the gloss of *vārīt šatēt* (Av *varədən*). Mills (*Gathas* p. 310) incorrectly reads *parīsh* with the meaning "confusion" "deception."

The two sections of GF quoted above as amended may be translated thus —

(4) He called men whose age (*dāt*) was not more than (*frēh hac*) fifteen years"

(9) "There is a man Yost-i Fryān by name who is not more than (*frēh hac*) fifteen years of age (*dāt*)."

See Peshotan's Pahlavi Grammar p. 237 for the correct Gujarati translation of § 4. MS. No 50 of the Mulla Feroze Library correctly explains *dāt* in an interlinear translation as داد i. e. عمر

In § 9 may preferably be changed to

(4)

GF III 69 (p. 234 glossary p. 215) —

magh a stone this is explained in a foot-note (p. 261) as a stone used as a seat in the ceremony of purification.

Here *magh* is the same as *magh-i riman* (Av *maghanam airimaitinam*) of Vd. 14.6 which is further glossed as *x'ēsīhā gās* i. e. privies. These *maghs* are holes dug in the ground for making water and easing nature, cf. Pahl. Vd 5.4 (comm.) (Hoshang p. 146 note 113.)

x^vēsīhā-dān = 'privies', which is read differently by Hoshangji

GF II 71 (p. 223) —

panch hai sapīr, "the five good Kayanians"

Barthelemy also translates in the same way (See his 'Une Légende iranienne', p 15)

This phrase should be read *pancah-i vēh* The Pazand version rightly explains it as *gāsān vēh, i e*, "the five good Gathic days (occurring at the end of the last Zoroastrian month) called پنجه وه *panja-i veh* (see H_7, note, p 223).

(5)

Hn II 23 (p 284 and glossary, p 160) —

stīh-pēstān, 'with prominent breasts' (Av *ərədvafshnyå*)

The Avestan word *ərədva* or *ərəδva* is correctly translated in Pahlavi everywhere as *stēnīh e g*,

(1) N f 85 13, 17 — *arədvaē gavāstryāvaishnå* = *stēnīh kār-vai zišnīh*

(2) Vd 5 11 (Hoshang's Vd , p 155)—*ərədvō-åŋhan* = *stēnīh āhān*

(3) Yt I 11 (Dhabhar's *Zend-i Khurtah Avistāh*, p 91 1)—*ərəδvō-drafsha* = *stēnīh drafš*

(4) Ny 5 (Dhabhar's *Zend-i Khurtah Avistāh*, p 42 14)— *ərəδvo-zenga* = *stēnīh zangīh*

Hence the (*stīh-pēstān*) of Hn should be corrected into *stēnīh pēstān*, "high-bosomed with prominent breasts"

Hn III 4 (p 294 and glossary, p 43) —

anaumit 'hopeless, desponding'

This word is wrongly translated for Av. *nəmōi* which is correctly given in Y 46 1 as (Sp p 174 has) *ānāmam* from *ānāmītan* cf Y 57 18 Av. *frānāmaitē* =

and Av *nəmənte* = *anāmend* (see *Zend-i Khurtak Avistāk* pp 114 115 and Spiegel's Pahl Yasna pp 174 and 209 Mills Gathas, p 238)

Hn III. 5 (p. 205 and glossary p 242) —

pavan nazdikih 'in the vicinty

nazdikih is here wrongly put for Av *juyō* living and therefore it should be changed to *zivandagih* life as in Hn II 6 (p 281).

Hn III. 37 (p 209 and glossary p 154) —

pavan sakht.

According to West *sakht* is here used as a substitute for *sakhtih* but the corresponding passage in Hn. II. 37 (p 202) rightly gives *pūrsit* (Av *pərəsahi*) thou askest

Thus is *pūrsāt* and should be better *pūrsit*.

I must not conclude this paper without tendering my warmest thanks to my revered and learned preceptor and superior Ervad Bamanji Nasarvanji Dhabhar M.A. for his useful and practical suggestions and valuable hints in the interpretation of some difficult Pahlavi words and constructions.



THE MĀTHRAS

By Shams-ul-'Ulama Dastur Dr M N. Dhalla, M A, Ph D

Zarathushtra, the prophet of Ancient Iran, purified the primitive form of prayer that prevailed among the early Iranians In place of the magical incantations to placate gods and conjure demons, he introduced a highly reformed form of prayer Zarathushtra taught that prayer should purify the mind, make the heart pulsate with devotional fervour, evoke a powerful will to do good, elevate character, inspire man with lofty ideals and enthuse him with the zeal to work for their realization It should bring according to him, emotional exaltation and create a strong urge for the inner transformation and self-improvement of man and fill him with a longing to enter into communion with Ahura Mazdā Prayer thus begins when the mind concentrates, and the heart, attuned to the godhead, speaks It is not made up of words rolled out by the tongue and uttered by the lips when the heart within is asleep Ahura Mazdā hears even silent prayer in which the sound of articulated breath may not be heard, because it comes from the deepest depths of a devout heart and where the soul is athirst for fellowship with the Heavenly Father

Zarathuštra employs the Indo-Iranian term, Avestan *māthra*, Sanskrit *mantra*, for the holy hymns of his Gāthās. Both among the Indians and the Iranians, it meant a word of prophetic inspiration, a divinely inspired prayer The Vedas and the Gāthās use it with this lofty meaning Both in India and Iran, however, the term later lost its original meaning and has stood for magical formula, charm or spell ever since The Vedas had become unintelligible during the Epic period The Avestan language became obsolete and dead after the downfall of the Achæmenians The Gāthic hymns came to be regarded as magical incantations in the Later Avesta Those supposed to be well-versed in the knowledge

of occult science composed fresh formulas credited with mysterious meaning These are interspersed in the Yasts and the Vandidād

The *Mathras* thus came to be regarded as instinct with matchless magical potency They became the most powerful weapons to rout the demons. A correct, faultless intonation and mechanical recital of these spells, it began to be believed procured every conceivable good and enabled one to avert all kinds of evil. The very sound of the recital of these formulas say the Avestan texts has great mysterious efficacy It has the marvellous power to destroy the malice of the demons to take away the strength of their arms, the swiftness of their feet the sight of their eyes, the hearing of their ears and to force them to rush headlong confused and confounded howling and hopping screaming and screeching to the infernal darkness of hell

With the recrudescence of the primitive idea that bodily diseases were caused by the malignant actions of the demons the *mathras* came to be used for exorcising the demons from the bodies of sick persons. Likewise they began to be employed as conjurations against the demons of defilement death and sorcery in order to avert the baneful influence of the evil eye and for various other purposes.

Chief among these *mānthras* are the Gāthic hymns the Ahuna Vairya the Airyemā Ishyō the names of Ahura Mazdā Amesha-spentas and Vayu and several other formulas

Asha always stands for righteousness in the Gāthās In the Yast dedicated to him in the later Avestan period he is pre-eminently the genius of bodily health This Yast is replete with magical formulas to drive away the demons of disease and death Similarly the Gāthās concentrated all moral evil or wickedness in Druj. The Later Avesta speaks of many Drujas the Druj, *par excellence* being the Druj Nasu personifying bodily uncleanliness The Vandidād enjoins that this Druj can be prevented from rushing upon

(cf Firdausi دیهیم شاهنشاهی *dihīm-i šāhanšahī*, "the imperial crown" (See Amuzanda's 'Shāh-nāma', Vol 1 p 10 20, and Vol 4, p 116 3)

II 'Dātistān', Ch 48 17 (Pors 47 17) See also S B E, Vol 18, p 165 (West) and the Gujarāti translation of the 'Dāṭastān-i Dīnik' by Anklesaria and Bharucha, p 135, where the following clause, difficult to interpret, is left untranslated (K₃, [illegible]) [illegible]

ān-i Šatrivarih māh-rūp i pa gās-i ān-i dahyūpatān dēδēm vēiāst ēstēt

"The metallic *māh-rūp* (*i e*, the crescent-shaped stands on which the Barsam is placed in the *Yasna-gāh*) is arranged in the position of (*i e*, as representing) the *diadem* of the kings"

Khshathra is kingdom, rule, power, sovereignty Cf Nēryōsang's Sk. *rājya*, *svāmitva* The Ameshā-spenta Khshathra Vairya has the special charge and guardianship of metals "The usual explanation, and also the traditional interpretation of Khshathra Vairya's association with metal is in connection with regal wealth, or precious metals as symbolic of sovereignty and metallic weapons as an instrument of power" —Jackson in the Dastur Peshotan Memorial Volume,' p 164

Here *Shatrivai* is associated with the metallic *māh-rūp* as representing the symbol of sovereignty, *viz*, the crown (*dēδēm*) of kingship

2 [illegible] = [illegible] *vistan*, 'to dart an arrow' (See Hoshangji and Haug's P P G 10 6 and Junker's Fr P p 55 7)

The Aryan verb [illegible] *vistan* or *vestan* is very rarely used in Pahlavi Only two instances of it are found in GrBd. and in the corresponding passages of BdK. their corrupt

Pāzand forms are met with in both these instances, as shown below

I. GrBd p. 104 1 [illegible] *pāraḳ ē ō āsmān vist* The corresponding passage in BdK. p. 85.17 is [illegible] Antia's Pāzand text of Bd. (see Pāzand Texts p. 76) has [illegible] The MS. No 50 of the Mulla Feroz Library gives [illegible] for [illegible] of BdK., and suggests the true reading *viz* [illegible] *rōn vist* for *ravn-iṯ*. Thus the passage may be read —*pāraḳ ē ō āsmān rōn vist* "One piece [of meat] was tossed [*lit* darted as an arrow] towards the direction (*rōn*) of the sky"

Justi and West take the incorrect form *ravniṯ* as the causal of *raftan*

II. Gr Bd. p 198 ll. 1 2 —

[illegible]

Tūrk-ē ka xᵛaft ēstiṯ pa tīr bē-vist andō pa dast-i Pēsānsē

A Turk struck him (*viz* Sām Kersāsp) with an arrow when he was asleep in the plain of Pēsansē"

The form [illegible] of the Gr Bd. used here in connection with *tīr* arrow may better be changed to [illegible] *vist* or *vest* for which the corresponding Pāzand form in BdK. 69 12-13 is [illegible] (Justi [illegible])

With [illegible] or [illegible] *vestan* or *vēstan*, may be compared its agentive [illegible] *vēstār*, *e.g* [illegible] *vēstār-i tīr* one who discharges an arrow" which is the Pahlavi rendering of Av *asta-išūm* (See Hoshang and Haug's *ZPG* 20 6 and Reichelt's Frahang i Oīm part II p. 126) Bartholomae rightly derives this Aryan word *vistan* from Av *vid* (cf Av *asəmnō-vid*) and Sk. *vidh* "to pierce to cut" and Kanga derives it from Av *vidh*, Sk. *bhid*, "break, cut asunder pierce (See Avesta Dictionary p 417).

9

3 *kudūc*, "nail, spike, needle", NP كدور *kundur* (Dd 20 8)

In 'Dātastān-ı Dinīk' 20 8 the road from the Chinvat Bridge to Hell (Pahlavi script) traversed by the soul of the wicked is thus described

[Pahlavi text]

ānō kū ān-ı tēz hac kudūc nigūn bālā-tēkh an-at ēstēt

"There were sharp points (*tēz* NP تیج) of nails (*kudūc*) which are inverted with the points upwards are set " (See also S B E Vol 18, p. 49, where this word is interpreted differently by West Refer also to the Gujarati translation of the 'Datastan' by Anklesaria and Bharucha, p 15)

With this Pahlavi passage, compare the corresponding passage of SdBd Ch 99 § 21, pp 169-70, and my 'Persian Rivayats of Hormazyār Frāmarz and others' p 573 —

سبب آنکه پول چون تیغ استره تیز باشد و تا دوزخ رسد آن روانرا همه راه
چنان باشد که پندارد کدوچ در راه زده باشد واوی بر سر آن میرود

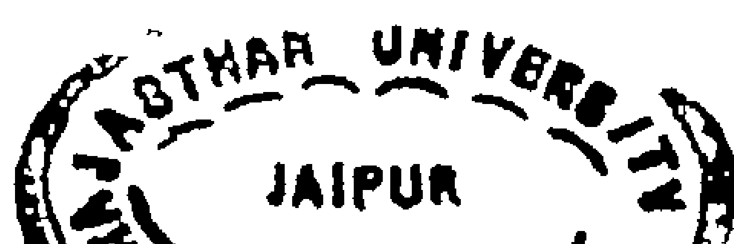
"Because the bridge is as sharp as the edge of a razor, until it (*i e*, the soul) reaches hell, the whole way to hell is such that the soul thinks that it is set with nails and it walks over it"

See also Hoshang's Pahlavi Vandidād 3 35 (comm), p 87, where the Avestan phrase *vīspaca avı tıghra nımata* has the gloss —

[Pahlavi text] *hai-chīgūn ōftēt tēkh ōftēt*,

"Howsoever it, (*i e*, the soul of the wicked,) falls down, it falls down on erect points" (*tēkh*, NP تیخ "anything sharp or pointed")

A similar passage is found in my 'Pahlavi Rivâyat accompanying the 'Dātastān-ı Dīnīk', p 87, where instead of [Pahlavi text] *kudūc* we find [Pahlavi text] *dūc* —



[Pahlavi script] *In rīs ku hao dūo awzīṭ estēṭ* This way which is set with thorns" (Cf NP دور and دوز *doza* "a kind of thorn or prickly plant cf also NP دوزه دوزب دوزب "the sting of an insect").

4 [Pahlavi script] ([Pahlavi script]) *tistik* (NP ـــر) a race of men residing in regions other than the central region *kh*ᵛ*anirath*" See 'Draxt i Asūrik p. 661 BSOS Vol 2, part IV 1923 by Dr J M Unvala Ervad T D Anklesaria's GrBd. p 107.8 and also Dastur J M. Jamasp-asa's Pahlavi Texts p. 112.18 p. 118 1 —

[Pahlavi script]

jaṭ-sarṭak marṭomak ke mānend ṭar ān būm u tistik u var casm kē casm pa var hast

Different races of men who dwell beyond this land [*i. e* the central region Khᵛanirath], *viz* the Tistiks and the Var-casms whose eyes are on their chests"

See West's Pahlavi Jāmāsp Nāmak in the 'Dastur Peshotan Memorial Volume p. 105 where the names of mythical races residing in regions other than Khᵛanirath are given as *var-chasmān, var gōsān duvālpāyān tastēzān* and *kahrubā* (= *kalbā*)-*sarān* It is stated here that the city of the *tastēzān* is Kuzi and the residents are always at war with the *var-gōsān* who are very wicked.

See also Unvala's Rivāyat of Dārāb Hormazyār, Vol II p 285 1 15 and p. 286 ll 2 3 where this word [illegible] as ـــرگان *tas tezagān* With regard to these [illegible] races not residing in Khᵛanirath but in the [illegible] other than Khᵛanirath it is said in the Pahlavi C[illegible] of Vandidād 1 1 and also in 'Minōe-i Khraṭ Ch. [illegible] is not possible to go from one region to another [illegible] the permission of the *Yazats* or of the *dēvs*

In his Shāh-nāma, Firdausi mentions a race called *narm-pāyān* in whose city called *Narm-pai*, the king of Māzandarān, a devilish creature, dwelt at the time of the expedition of king Kaus to Māzandarān

5. (Spiegel's Pahlavi Vandidād, 8·22 (comm), p 110 12)—*darmōk* (?)

(Sanjana's Pah Vd, p 117 3)—*darmōk* (?)

(Hoshangji's Pah Vd, p 319 6)—*garmok* (?)
With this word of Hoshang and Haug's P P G, p 3 6 = and Junker's Fr P p 50 *garmak*, "first fruits", "new bread Sanjana reads the word *durmule* (NP دُرمُل *durmul*) taking it to mean 'boiled rice corn" Hoshangji compares it with NP گرمه *garma* 'fruits or "bread'

In his Gujarati 'Zartoshti Sāhitya Abhyas', Part I p 98 *et seq*, Dastur Khurshedji Pavri comments on the different readings and meanings assigned to this word by various scholars, and in a long rhapsodical statement arrives at the conclusion that the word is a contracted form of *garmōk-vai* (Av *garomō-varanhem* Af G § 9) and puts quite a different interpretation on it, which has no material connection with the subject as treated in the Pahlavi Vandidād (See also 'Journal of the Iranian Association, Vol IX, No 1, April, 1922, p 11, where the same subject is similarly treated by him)

It may be said in passing that this *garmōk-vai* is generally used with *baresmōk-vai* in the 'Dinkart,' where the hot and the cold ordeals are respectively termed *garmōk-varīh* and *baresmōk-varīh*, and there it is stated that one has to undergo either of these ordeals for the atonement of one's sins (See S B E Vol 37, Book 8, Ch 19 § 38, and Ch 20 §§ 12, 66, etc See also 'Pahlavi Āfrīngān-i Gāsānbār, in 'Zand-i Khurtak Avistāk,' p 155, ll, 14-15)

All traditional interpreters and eminent modern scholars like Tahmuras Anklesaria[1] and Sheriarji Bharucha[2] interpret the word as "white cotton clothes" technically called *Syār* in Gujrāti which according to long tradition as well as modern usage is to be consecrated with the Darūn of Artā Fravahr on the dawn of the fourth day after the death of a man. All Rivāyat writers speak of this [Pahlavi] *(darmīk?)* as the *jāma i asū dād* i.e. cotton clothing to be given away as gift after being consecrated. Dastur Jamaspji Jamasp-Asana in his Gujrāti translation of the Pahlavi Vandidād p 86 translates the Pahlavi word as *syār* i.e., "white cotton clothing" Dastur Framji Rabadi translates in the same way (See p. 140 of the Gujarāti translation of the Vandidad published by J I Rabadina 1900)) Ervad M P Madan in his Gujarāti translation of M de Harlez's French translation of the Vandidād gives a note to the same effect (p. 106) A modern MS. PB collated by Sanjana in his edition of the Vandidād substitutes [Pahlavi] *dast i jāmak* (= a set of cotton clothes") for the original [Pahlavi]. The old Iranian MS IM written in A C 1585 and collated by Dastur Hoshangji has [Pahlavi] (M [Pahlavi]) for [Pahlavi] The MS DR written in A C 1755 explains [Pahlavi] by [Pahlavi] *jāma* and the MS. MU, written about a hundred years ago has both the forms put side by side as [Pahlavi].

All this shows that from old times upto now this particular word [Pahlavi] howsoever read was interpreted as "white cotton clothes" Only Dastur K. Pavri as shown above takes exception to this interpretation and arrives at a different solution quite unconvincingly An attempt is therefore made here however tentatively to fix the reading and meaning of this word which has defied the ingenuity of scholars to arrive at the correct solution chiefly of the reading of the word.

---

1 See the account of the Society for the Promotion of Research into the Zoroastrian Religion (1880), p. 272.

2 See Ristl tan p. 416, note with a different reading

ABBREVIATIONS IN PAHLAVI

By Dr Bernhard Geiger (New York)

In an article published many years ago, in the Wiener Zeitschrift f d Kunde d Morgenl, vol 26 1912 pp 299 ff, I showed that the names of the cereals wheat, barley and millet (חנ), (שע) and (פג), which are translated by the Iranian words *gandum* *yav* and *gāvars*, *arzan* in the Frahang i Pahlavik (ed H F J Junker) IV, 1, are abbreviations of the Aramaic words חנטתא (wheat), שעורתא, סערתא, Arab. شعير (barley) and פרגא (millet), and I pointed out that they are abbreviations of the same kind as those occurring in the Greek Papyri σι for σῖτον (wheat) and κρ or κριθ for κριθῶν (barley) and as כ and ש for כסף (money) and שקל (Šekel) in the Papyri and Ostraka of Elephantine I further expressed the opinion that these abbreviations probably were used in business documents and that the (y) or (g), sometimes written (k), represented signs of abbreviation

Besides the above mentioned names of the cereals also (Frah i Phl V, 1), *i e* חנ, which is translated by *xurmāk* "date", was explained by me as an abbreviation of the corresponding Aramaic word But I was not right in taking it as an abbreviation of (Frah i Phl. IV 3), *i e* דקלא, partly following Fr Muller, who had declared it to be a mutilation of For (חנ) can only represent Aram חמרא, "date", whereas, דקליא is the Aramaic word for "palm-tree" (cf *e g* דיקלא דאכיל מיניה חמרי, "a palm-tree the dates of which one eats" J Levy, Neuhebr u chald Woerterbuch, s v דיקלא) and is accordingly translated by *muγ*[1] in the Frah i Pahlavik

1 Mod Persian *muγ*, not موج (Junker, Frah., i Pahl, p 79)

Many years later Giuseppe Messina ("L'antico aramaeo" Miscellanea Biblica Scriptura Pontif Instituti Biblici vol 2 1934 p 97) without knowing my article, gave the same explanation of [Pahl.] [Pahl.] and [Pahl.] which I had found[1] Messina further dealt with the abbreviations in Frah i Pahl. IV [Pahl.] כשמי, which is there rendered by the Semitic word [Pahl.], "olive oil", and the immediately following [Pahl.] which is rendered by the Iranian *kunjit* The latter ideogram, [Pahl.], שמן has long ago been recognized by Haug (Pahl Paz. Gloss. 211) and Justi (Bundehesh, 190) as representing Aram שׁוּמְשׁוּם (Syr שׁוּשְׁמָא), sesame" The first ideogram [Pahl.] כשמי, is explained by Messina as an original שמי, which has taken on an initial [Pahl.] (*k*) by the influence of the word [Pahl.] *kāh* of the immediately preceding group of words so that שמי would have to be considered as an abbreviation of the Aram. שמנא, oil Not knowing another Aramaic word with the meaning "olive oil" conformable to [Pahl.] I myself had always supposed that in [Pahl.] somehow the word שמנא must be concealed and I believe [Pahl.] is likely to be an abbreviation of שמנא However I do not agree with Messina when he assumes that the writer distinguished these two abbreviations equal in form but different in meaning by putting two diacritical dots on the of [Pahl.] when it means *kunjet* For apart from the fact that even in the text of the Frahang three manuscripts present [Pahl.] (= *kunjit*) without dots, it is noteworthy that this word is written [Pahl.] in Bundehesh (ed. Justi) 28 8 *hac masg* [Pahl.] (cf my article Bull Sch of Or St VIII, p. 549 f) and [Pahl.] in the MS. K_{35} of Zātspram [Codices Avest. et Pahl Bibl Univ Hafn., Vol IV fol. 241 v line 4 from below (and [Pahl.] in the next line) On the other hand we find in two MSS. of the Frahang the spelling [Pahl.] which goes back to [Pahl.] ([Pahl.] pseudo-historical for [Pahl.]) There is

1 A to the mes of the legumes *misūk* (which Messina did not plain correctly as *mič-ūk* (*mič-ič-ūk* piccolo frutto) and [Pahl.] *Vanōk*, cf my article in Bull. of the Sch. of Or Stud., vol VIII 1935 37 pp 547 ff.

no doubt that the original sign of abbreviation was ܣ, instead of which afterwards in most cases ܣ, sometimes ܘ, *h*, and even ܕ, *d*, (as we shall still see later on) were written Accordingly we find [Pahlavi forms] (Iran Bdh, fol 62 b, l 13), [Pahlavi forms] (Bdh., ed Justi 64, 15), [Pahlavi form] (Kārn, ed Antia, 33, Iran Bdh, fol 60 b, l 2, Xusr Kav, § 31), [Pahlavi form] (MSS of Frah ī Pahl, Kārn, ed Sanjana, VII, 4)

A further abbreviation, not yet identified, is [Pahlavi form], מר, which is rendered by the Iranian *dāng* ([Pahlavi form]) in Frah ī Pahl XVI, 2 Justi has falsely considered it as representing Aram and Hebrew מרה It is in reality an abbreviation of Aram מעה, the original meaning of which, like that of *dāng* and of Hebr גרה, is "grain, kernel" The sign of abbreviation, [Pahlavi sign], was wrongly taken as ר (*d*), which was even corrupted into [Pahlavi sign] (*z*) in the Pahl Codices K_{20} and K_{20b} of Šāyast nē šāy, Codices Avest et Pahl Bibl Univ Hafniensis, vol I, fol 72 v, l 15 (= ed Tavadia 10, 24), whereas only [Pahlavi sign] (*m*) is written ibid fol 166 v, l 10, in [Pahlavi form] (3 *m*), [Pahlavi form] (4 *m*), and in Frah ī Pahl 30, 1 [Pahlavi form] (4 *m*), [Pahlavi form] (5 *m*), besides [Pahlavi form] (1 *m*), [Pahlavi form] (2 *m*), [Pahlavi form] (3 *m*) The identification of [Pahlavi form] (מר) with מעה proves justified by the fact that according to the Talmud tract Rōš Hasānā 26 a מעה is equal to דנקא, *i e*, the mp *dāng*, Syr דנקא, Armen *dāng*, Old Pers δανάκη (Lagarde, Armen Stud § 564 and Ges Abhandlungen 32, Hubschmann, Armen Gramm, p 134) And as according to the Talmud דנקא is the sixth part of a דינרא (*dēnār*) and (Jerus Kiddūšin I, 58d) six מעה are equal to a silver Dēnār, so in the Frah ī Pahl 30, 1 [Pahlavi form], 3 = מי (= 3 מעה), are the equivalent of nēm-dēnār (½ Dēnār) It is not quite sure, but very likely, that שומי in the Aramaic inscription published in Ephemeris fuer semit Epigraphik, ed by M Lidzbarski, vol 2, 245 are abbreviations of שקל (Šekel) and מעה .

As to *dāng*, Tavadia, Šāy nē š, p 15, has already mentioned that in the Pahlavi text "Dārūk ī xvarsandīh",

Pahl. Texts ed. Jamasp-Asana, p. 154 the recipe is given for the preparation of one Dram (Drachma) of the remedy "contentment" out of six constituents each of which has the weight of one *dāng*. I only would add that the Talmudic דנקא has also the meaning of "one sixth" in general as Bab. Mez. 39 b one sixth of property left (besides תילתא "one third") and Šabb. 85 a one third of a mile and that in a Mandean text, Ginzā R. 217. 9 (transl. by Lidzbarski p. 218) דאנקא (cf. also Noeldeke Mand. Gramm. XXXI) and סיאנקא (*siyānkā* Syr. סינקא, Arm. *sing sink*) occur as coins of low value.

At this opportunity I might be allowed to point out that the words [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] Frah. i Pahl. IV 1 have not been interpreted correctly. There we have neither an ideogram [Pahlavi] with the Iranian equivalent *mēvak* "*fruit*" nor the word *dānak* "grain" (Junker Frah. p. 81) but a purposely or erroneously shortened spelling for [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] *dānay*[*thā u*] *mēvakthā*, "grains and fruits" and this is the heading of the chapter giving its contents and following the number of the chapter (*cahārum dar*) as it is usual also in some other cases at the beginnings of the chapters of the Frahang. In the meaning of "(one single) grain" there occurs besides *tōxm* Frah. IV 2 *dānak* in the incorrectly written form *dānāk* (and similar spellings). The *āk* of this form is due to the *-āk* of the preceding Aramaic [Pahlavi] (but also [Pahlavi] and [Pahlavi]). I hardly need mention that this *-āk* at the end of an Aramaic word is entirely wrong. It occurs also in other Aramaic words of the Frahang, especially in certain manuscripts (cf. *e. g.* [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi] III 2, [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi] IV 3, [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi] IV 6 etc. Xusr. Kav. § 26 [Pahlavi] "flour" for [Pahlavi]) and it seems to go back to [Pahlavi] which very often by transposition of the two letters has developed from [Pahlavi], אי (-), the ending of Aramaic words (cf. *e. g.* III 1 [Pahlavi] and [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] ("ocean").

I am very much inclined to assume that there is still another abbreviation to be found in the Frahang and that the word -ıɛ (IV, 6) has to be explained in this way. The traditional reading is *pang*, whereas the Burhan-i Qatr spelled it *panih* which like many other wrongly spelled words of the Burhān found its way into the Persian dictionaries. As it is rendered in the Frahang by the Iranian -ˢ- *ālūγ* or *ālūδ*, which apparently has the meaning 'plum' like the modern Persian آلو Al Kohut in his edition of the Talmudic dictionary "Aruch Completum", vol VI 294, identified it with the Talmudic פניעין, פגעין (a plural) *pəgāʿīn* *pəgiʿīn*, which occurs only once and is explained by Jewish commentators as 'plums' But "*panig*" or "*pang*" and *פגע (the singular) are phonetically so different from one another, that etymological relation between them cannot at all be taken into consideration The only way to reconcile -ıɛ with פגע to some extent would be by assuming that -ıɛ might be an erroneous spelling for ·ɛ- which could be read פגע But this seems to be too far-fetched, the more so as פגעין is not likely to be the name of a fruit at all[1] Besides that we should expect the Aramaic form פגעא I, therefore have no doubt that there is no connection whatever between -ıɛ and the Aramaic word

As the preceding group in the Frahang contains the ideogram -ʊ-ʊɛuɛ משמשיא, "the apricot' (cf new-Aram mismiši R Duval, Les dialectes néo-aram de Salamas, p 14, l 14, Arab مشمش), we might expect the ideogram -ıɛ in the following group to represent Aramaic פרסקא, "the Persian fruit' (identical with Greek Περσική, Arab firsiq,

1 Löw, Flora der Juden 3, 158 and 167, is obviously right in saying that the commentators have probably taken this word as a name of the plum only because of the *p* and *g* contained in it like in Latin *prugni* According to the opinion of Prof Louis Ginzberg, New York (letter of May 10, 1930) פניעין seems to mean nothing else but "burst open", and with regard to the two fruits mentioned in the passage of the Talmud. It would then be a variant of פקיעין "the burst open", which, as a matter of fact, occurs in a commentary

firsik Germ. Pfirsich "the peach") and it seems to me very likely indeed that פר means פרי (with ו = r) and is an abbreviation of פרסקא which pretty often occurs in the Jewish Aramaic of the Talmud whereas in Syriac הרא פרסיא ("Persian plums") or הוזרא פרסא ("malum Persicum") are used. This explanation however seems to be inconsistent with the fact that the Frahang gives as the Iranian equivalent of פר the word ... i. e., ālūr (ālūk?) "plum". But this cannot be decisive as is evident from the fact that though the Aramaic ideogram משמשיא in the preceding group is the name of the *apricot* is also rendered by a word which apparently means 'small plum' *ālūcik*.[1] The corresponding word in Modern Persian is آلوچه (according to Farh. Shu ūrī also "cherry"). Raverty's Afghan Dictionary gives besides the Persian *ālūcah* "a kind of plum" also *ālūjah* as "a kind of plum very plentiful at Peshawer" (Lorimer Waziri Pashto 44 *ālicha* "kind of plum"). In E. B. Soane's Grammar of the Kurmanji or Kurd language we find for "plum" the words *ālūch*, *helūchek*, *helūk*, NG *ālūk*, *erūk*, *halūsha* and there is no doubt that *ālūch*, *helūchek* and *halūsha*[2] correspond to the Persian *ālūca*.[3] Les dialectes néo-araméens de Salamas (ed. R. Duval, Paris 1883, p. 14) among the names of fruits present immediately after *mišmiš* ("apricots") for "plums" the word *alōugci*[4] by which an original Middle Pers. **ālūkcik* seems

---

1. The various readings ... ... etc. seem to go back to an original ... as the writing with initial ... or ... instead of ... might have been taken from Pāzand forms with ... for Pahl. ... = ā.

2. A. v. Le Coq, Kurdische Texte, vol. 2 (Woertersammlung) *helūcā*.

3. Jewish Persian אלוצר (*ālūca*) Wilh. Bacher, Ein hebr.-pers. Wtb., Nr. 41. Maclean J. A. Dictionary of the dialects of vernac. Syriac: *ālū*, *hd*, *hālūchā*. I. A. Socin, Die neu-aram. Dial. von Urmi bis Mosul the word for "plums" (not "berries"!) is spelled *ālūjā* (but *ālūgī* in *qarāligī* "black plums").

4. The g represent غ (γ). This word is not correctly quoted by Löw, Flora d. Juden 8, 168. Löw l.c. pp. 157 and 168, has taken from the Appendix "Voces kurd-persicae" of Vullers' Lexicon the wrong spellings عليجر علوجر and علوك

to be represented. If then in the Frahang מִשְׁמִשְׁיָא· which cannot mean anything else but "apricot", is rendered by *ālūcik*, we are not permitted to understand *ālūcik* in the sense of "plum" or "small plum", and as -, obviously an Aramaic ideogram, is absolutely inconsistent with any of the Aramaic names of the plum (Jewish אחוניתא· דמסקין; Syr. חחא, etc, cf Low, l c, 3, 165 ff), the word , *ālūγ* by which - is explained, cannot mean here the plum itself I, therefore, believe that we are justified in concluding that *ālūcik* and *ālūγ* in exact accordance with their Aramaic ideograms מִשְׁמִשְׁיָא and (the conjectured) פר[סקא] are to be understood here as the two kinds of the plum, a smaller and a bigger one, which the apricot and the peach are considered to be 1) Prunus Armeniaca, , *zartālūk* (Iran Bdh, p 118, l 15, Ind Bdh, p 66, 5 , *zardālū*, mod. Pers *zardālū*) "the yellow plum", apricot, and 2) Prunus Persica, peach , *šaftālūk* (Iran Bdh, p 118, l 14, , ibid, p 116, l. 13, but Ind Bdh. 64, 13 and 66, 4 f , *šaft-ālū*) According to the Farh Šu'ūrī two species of آلوی بخارا (the plum of Bukhārā) are distinguished *zard-ālū* (apricot) and *šaft-ālū* (peach), and Jacob of Edessa calls the peaches חחא פרסיא "Persian plums" (A Hjelt in "Orientai Studien", Th Noeldeke gewidmet, p 576) In the fact that they are called special kinds of plum presumably lies the reason, why خوخ, originally "plum", in Kurdish *khūkh* Sloane, l. c, Jaba-Justi, Dict Kurde-franc) and in Arabic appears as the name of the peach, though such discrepancies in the nomenclature of plants are very often due to inaccuracy, to transferring the name of one plant to another species of the same or of a kindred group of plants As to the meaning of *šaft-ālūk*, it seems likely that *šaft* has here the sense which is assigned to this word by the Farhang-i Šu'ūrī and Burhān. "fat, thick, plump, fleshy (*laḥmī*)" Consequently *šaft* in Phl *šaftēnak*, a sweet

meat consisting of *saft*" like *lauzēnak* consisting of almonds and *gōzēnak* consisting of walnuts", (Nusr Kav 89) is an abbreviation of *saft-ālūk* just as *saft* in Mod Pers *saftarang* a fruit similar to the peach a hybrid of peach and apricot. In this connection I wish to point out that as is proved by the above mentioned forms of the Iran Bundahi n *art-ālūk* and *saft ālūk* by the Syriac *ardālūg* (Lagarde Ges Abhandl 44 Brockelmann Lex. Syr s v) and the Arabic form زردالوج Kurdish *ā ūk* (Socin l c.) and the neo-aram forms *aloug* i and *qārālutgi* "black plums (mentioned above) and by the Afghan plural forms *zard-ālūgan* and *saft ālūgan* (Raverty Dict.) the Pahlavi form was *ālūk* not *-ālūs* (Junker Frahang p 120) though we find in Asadi s Dictionary *zardālūs* and *saftālūs* (perhaps influenced by the preceding *amrūs* "pear") *Saftālūk*[1] occurs also in Nusr Kav 62 where among the finest kernel fruits the Armenian peach [2] *saftāluk ī Armanik* is mentioned which Tha alibi Histoire des rois des Perses p. 708 has rendered by مطلى الخوخ الارمنى the Armenian peach the pulp of which is (easily) detached (from the stone)

Accordingly is in all probability an abbreviation of Aramaic פרסקא, פרסיקא, which however is not the Persian word *pārsīk* but the Greek Περσική As the Persian word itself does not seem to have been used as a name of the peach it is at least very doubtful if *phūṣṭe* in Das nord arische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus" (ed by F Leumann) II 50 has the meaning "peaches though this would be possible according to the context

In addition to the discussion of the abbreviations occur ring in Pahlavi I am producing here one of the numerous

1 In Néo-Aram. *saptālūḥ* pesche (Socin, Neuaram. Dial. von Urmia p 70.

2. It is noteworthy that here an Armenian peach is mentioned, whereas usually the p [illegible] is called Armenian

corrupt passages of the text of Xusrav i Kavātān u Rētakē, which can be restored with the help of the Arabic version of Tha'ālibī, as one abbreviation, not identified up to this time, is to be found there It is the beginning of § 26

Pahlavi [illegible] ...
Arabic والدجاج الذي الربى البر والشهدانج ودهن الزيت
Pahl [illegible]

Unvala in his edition of the text has rightly corrected [illegible] of the MS into [illegible], which is another spelling for [illegible], *karg*, [illegible], *kark* "hen" (Frah i Pahl VIII, 2, Sāy nē s 10, 30 as *mātak* "female" distinguished from *xrōs* "cock", whereas in Pahl Vidēvd 18, 15 and 23 Avest *kahrkatās* "cock" is explained by *xrōs* or *kark*[1]), but he failed in the interpretation of the other part of the sentence The word [illegible] is to be read *yuvān* "young" (Arab فتى), not *vusn* (*gusn*) "male" Unvala further has wrongly replaced [illegible] by [illegible] (as in two other sentences [illegible], *āpkāmak*, by [illegible] and explained [illegible] as the ideogram for *zait* "olive", though the correct form of this ideogram is [illegible] or [illegible] (cf above, p 73 and my article WZKM, vol 44, 1937, p 63 f) As a matter of fact, however, [illegible] is falsely written for [illegible] (cf above, p 75), the Aram ideogram (קמחא) for *ārt*, "flour" The next word [illegible], which has not been transliterated by Unvala, is nothing else but *ŚK-ēn*, i e, the abbreviation [illegible] (for [illegible]) of the Aram ideogram for Iran *yav* "barley", so that we have to read *ārt i yavēn* "barley-flour", instead of which the Arabic version reads *al-burr* "wheat" The other words correspond exactly to one another الشهدانج to *šāhdānak* ("hemp-seeds"), دهن الزيت to *rōγn i zaitān* ("oil of the olive") and *parvart ēstēt* ("has been brought up") to الربى

---

1 الدجاج which corresponds to *karg ī katakīk* ("domestic hen") is cock or hen

PAHLAVI WORDS NEW AND OLD

By Professor M. Sprengling

Aklīt. This word was first solved in its true meaning in ZDMG 91 (NF 16) 663 f. For his statement there the writer did not have at hand in the very deficient state of the Pahlavi section in Chicago libraries some of the materials most necessary for a full solution. Even the *Frahang* in Junker's edition was not here until a few years ago. That the occurrence of this word and its congeners in the *Frahang* is probably due to the fact that the *Frahang* as we have it was, at least in the main, a tax-office handbook, or a section of such a handbook, has been brought out in the writer's *From Persian to Arabic*, AJSL, vol. LVI (April 1939). For the tax-offices it was important to know the terms for yearlings, two-year-olds, etc., of various animals for tax purposes.

In religious literature it is for the most part the yearling only which plays an important role. Thus it is in the Jewish Christian Old Testament. That is why it occurs in the KZ inscription, whose meaning as solved by Henning [BSOS IX 4 (1939) 823-50] has in general been accepted by the writer in his *From Persian to Arabic* quoted above. Similarly the Avesta has yearlings in the *Āfrīngān ī Gāhānbār*, Tirade 8, Geldner's edition vol. II p. 271. The reading of Johannes Hertel, *Die awestischen Jahreszeitenfeste*, no. 8, Leipzig 1934, pp. 96 and 12, corrects the major errors of Bartholomae's *Air. Wb.* (cols. 1022 and 1298) for this passage. Hertel has overlooked the Pahlavi *erak sālak* quoted by Bartholomae.

For its etymology Professor Bailey suggests *brītan* "to cut". In the Avesta *brāy-*, according to *Air. Wb.* col. 972, is used only with *pairi* "round about". This would

suit very well the shearing of sheep or goats The meaning of the terms in the *Frahang* would be "once shorn, twice shorn", etc That would be equivalent to "one year (old), two year (old)", etc A learned man might use such a word, taken from the language of shepherds and known in Sassanian and early Persian-Arabic tax-offices, in some such sense as "for one year, once a year, one time".

Some such meaning suits the much quoted but as yet not satisfactorily solved passage from the *Dātistān i Dēnīk*, § 26 of the Introduction, which seems to be the only occurrence of *akbrīt* in Pahlavi literature beside those mentioned above Chicago does not possess this The writer has now seen a) in Munich the Haug Codex formerly 14^a, now Munich Cod Zend 59^a, which to the writer's mind presents at this point on the whole the most acceptable text, b) the Facsimile of the Westergaard Codex, Copenhagen Pahlavi MS K_{3},, p 62, fol 103v-104r, c) the printed text of Anklesaria's edition by courtesy of Prof Junker and Prof Christensen The text of the little paragraph in question is presented from the Haug Codex, the other two being published

München, Staatsbibliothek, Cod Zend 59a (Cod Haug, Zend 14a) p 18, ll 1-6

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

One may read *ān itān x^uat andar nāmak pat bun u saric nipišt yut yut pat x^uēs nāzuk u spurrīk u šāt-burzišnīk frazāmihāt* (? *frazāmīhist* ?) *apāk akbrit pat-vastakīhā-ī hač bun ō frazām* The statement, so far as the *ak-* (or however it may be read) *brīt* is concerned ends here The meaning very probably is "*That which within the main body of the epistle itself is written, each in its own (place) neatly and completely and happily blest, is (or has been) ended with one year (s course) continuously from*

beginning to end"[1] The word is (or *has been*) ended" written as one word in the Copenhagen Codex and with the *m* curiously extended towards the ending in the Munich Codex is clearly a passive whatever form may lie behind the scribal copies of the extremely learned author's original For a courier postal station post horses there is no room for reason The author just before the end of the introduction is merely stating that the whole of the main body of his long and learned epistle was completed in one continuous effort during the course of one single year He finds the whole neat and complete and himself in a mood of happy praise,—to God of course It is possible that in learned etymologizing fashion he used the word not of the space of one year but as meaning with one cut with one stroke with one continuous effort The preponderance of probability lies with the idea of the space of one year

Another word in the KZ Inscription l 26 whose meaning was in general correctly interpreted in the preliminary edition AJSL LIII (Jan 1937) must with new insight be interpreted etymologically in a different much more meaningful way The first element of the long compound with suffixed pronoun is *pit* i e the old nominative for father as Horn *Grd d iran. Phil* I 2 p 102 § 49 1 and 195 § 107 has shown for all such compounds in Modern Persian The second element is *vdat* the second element in Avestan *x*ᵛ*aēt(u)vadaθa* and its Pahlavi derivatives, all despite the pseudo *h* of Pahlavi ultimately derived from *vad* perhaps *upavad* and clearly related to *vadairyav- vaδū* (bridal chamber Schaeder *Ungarische Jahrbücher* XV p. 576 n 1) *vaδrya* (on which see Benveniste *Vrtra et Vrθragna* p 51 n 3) and perhaps also to *vada* and *vadar* In any case and however pronounced the meaning is marriage The third element is *-and (a) r-* other German *ander* (Horn *Grd d np Etym*

1 If one wishes one may add the following three word t thi statement ... 'and forever that, too, is worthy of praise

no 120, Hubschmann, *P St*, p 18, Horn, *Grd d iran. Phil*, I, 2, p 169, Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, 1302 i, perhaps the first *a*, written in full, originally long as in Sanskrit) The final element is, of course, suffixed *-im*, "my, to me" The whole, therefore, means "(related) to me (by) another father-marriage" That, and not, as Steingass defines, "uterine brother", is the meaning of Modern Persian *dādand*, *dādandar*, *dādarandar*, etc Vullers in his first definition says quite correctly "frater non germanus", adding the Turkish *evgi qarandaş*, probably from the *Farhang-i Shuūrī*, later he quotes the *Burhān-i qāṭi*, for the meaning "elder brother" For the curious form *dādar*, "brother', both are quoted, apparently, as assigning it to a Transoxanian dialect (*Lughat Mā-warā'-alnahr*) E G Browne in his *Year among the Persians*, p 206, lists *Dādar* as Persian (old) and *Dadū* as Kohrudi with *Dāhar* as Darí of Yezd, taken from Justi, ZDMG, vol 35 If it were not for this curious *dādar* or *dādhar*, as yet apparently unexplained, one would feel inclined to derive *dādandar* in the meaning "step-brother by another mother" from a popular development and foreshortening of the long compound in the KZ inscription As it is we have in the inscriptional word the only known close relative of the old x^v*aēt(u)vadaϑa-*, itself taken out of its old context in meaning and form by the Sassanian uses and spellings which have come down to us The old meaning 'one's own clan, sect, group" for the first element fell into desuetude, the inserted *h* divided the elements at the wrong point, *-dat*, *-dath*, *-das* was conceived to be derived from *dātan*, "give" Attempts to explain away meanings associated with older usages, no longer current and presently frowned upon, played further havoc in apologetic etymologizing lexicography Our new word, with modern insight into the historical development of such matters, leaves no loophole for doubt

It does not detract from the brilliance of Herr Henning's effort to say that his readings are not all final The writer

ot know what photograph Herr Henning had. If he
nly the reproduction in the ZDMG with its crosshatch
is certainty as to what must or must not be on the
cannot in a number of places be great. A limited
er of somewhat larger photographs were sent to a few
s of learning Their number was limited by our
tringe. The writer himself has thus far had no
unity to see the stones themselves nor has he seen
queezes which he knows to have been made. But the
graphs before him are two and one half to three times
ge as those which he was able to send out. From
at this point but one reading shall be definitely fixed
Henning (p 844) reads the beginning of line 21
H and remarks in note 7 Sprengling *l ṣnh*. We
orry but at this point we must add with absolute
nty the stone *hṣnh* On this we cannot admit of
this is *ṣnah* and not *u ēn*. About the *ŠM* following
e is in doubt. After a considerable interval there
s a partly destroyed symbol which Herr Henning would
which with *ṣm* = *nām* would make *nāmak* This is a
nt guess About this *k* (?) we cannot be as positive as
e first one the form of what is clear looks very much
like *v*(*r*) There follows a deep erosion or other
On the smaller photographs nothing can be dis-
l. On the larger it can be clearly seen that the
strokes whose surface is destroyed, have left an impres-
hat went considerably deeper than the surface of the
they cut. What can be seen with a magnifying glass
y be said is almost certainly *not ptpwlsnd* it still
more like a repeated *hṣnh* the remnants of *n* and *h*
particularly seductive Certainty of any kind cannot
he means thus far at hand be attained.

University of Chicago, May 31 1939

AGAIN THE TWO-HEADED CELESTIAL COW

By H Lommel

(Translated from the German by B Lommel)

My intention here is to supplement a paper on "Rain-comb and Heavens-cow" by Miss M Weyersberg and myself (published in the magazine "Paideuma", Mitteilungen zur Kulturkunde, Forschungsinstitut fur Kulturmorphologie, Frankfurt a M, 1939, Vol 1, No 3, pp 120-146) with another instance from the Veda

The purpose of this paper is not simply the interpretation of a single Veda passage, but the coordination of the conception expressed therein with a great historical mythological complex It is necessary therefore to give first a short report of the contents of the article mentioned above, whereby the convincing proofs contained in the many details are necessarily lacking, as are the illustrations which give us a concrete idea and cognition of unfamiliar and seemingly fantastic perceptions For these particulars I must refer my readers to the first paper in "Paideuma I"

In prehistorical and early historical representations and ornaments, especially vase-paintings in anterior Asia and Europe (Susa I, Mohenjo-Daro, etc) we often find a form or symbol which from a purely superficial point of view looks like a comb The frequency and extensive dissemination of this ornament allow us to assume that this figure has a special meaning and is not merely a decoration used to fill up an empty space Other scholars have already supposed in discussing this ornamental comb sign, that it might be a symbol for rain This explanation is confirmed by the aforementioned paper The very copious synopsis of the archaeological examples of this motif is supplemented by ethnological evidence, according to which very similar comb-

figures are employed for instance by the Indians of North America in the cult which they celebrate in times of drought The comb itself is explained as a representation of rain curved lines above the back of the comb as a representation of clouds. In a similar way the meaning of the comb-symbol is attested for different parts of Africa Micronesia and Melanesia. In addition to this evidence we know that the Egyptian hieroglyph rain a combination of the symbol for "heaven and (falling) water" is al o a figure similar to a comb and that the Chinese sign for rain is likewise connected with the comb-sign and has developed from older forms even more nearly related to the comb-symbol

The significance rain which in these cases is quite certain can now be transferred to those prehistoric and old historic comb ornaments This analogical conclusion is supported by the fact that these ornaments or symbols are often combined with wave- or zigzag lines which are well known as symbols for water and also with representations of aquatic animals (for instance frogs) and plants

Now this comb-ornament in our archaeological examples often has a little hook on each of the upper ends and comparative observation teaches us that these hooks are intimations of heads

The figures of the old pottery paintings have often become so entirely schematized that they are very nearly geometrical forms As a result of this kind of representation the heads of the comb-ornament have been reduced to mere rudiments whereby the form of the head is often suppressed entirely and only the little hooks appear as intimations of horns The more pronounced end teeth of those combs which have heads or horns on each of the upper ends we can recognize as the conventionalized forefeet of four footed animals

This leads us to include in our comparison an old Egyptian wooden comb in the form of a cow on which the

teeth of the comb are placed between the legs It represents the goddess of the firmament, Hathor who is giver of rain In this connection we must mention the African rock-pictures which portray cows (in one case the cow is over-arched by a bow which the natives explain as the rain-bow) in combination with the comb-symbol Here the interpretation of the cow as a rain-cow has been handed down to the present day and African myths tell of the rain-bovine, sometimes as bull, sometimes as cow. One African legend mentions that a rain-bull can transform itself into a cow and give milk It is clear that here rain is interpreted as heavens-milk The change of sex corresponds to the Vedic celestial cow which is also androgynous

It is obvious then that the "rain-comb is closely connected with the Egyptian goddess Hathor (often represented as a cow) and with the representations in other parts of Africa of a rain-giving heavens-cow The relationship between this conception and the Vedic myth of the heavens-cow is indubitable[1]

The old-Asiatic comb-symbols which show rudiments of (horned) heads and fore-feet, have also connections with the archæological representations of double-animals which are united back to back and have two heads with horns In the small Assyrian and Babylonian figures the form is only suggested and schematized, so that we cannot recognize the legs clearly It may be that each half of the double-animal has two fore-feet and two hind-feet the general impression at any rate is that the double trunk of the animal tapers down into an eight-tooth comb In other more clearly delineated or modelled figures these horned double-animals have only two fore-feet each and no hind-feet because the fore-parts of their bodies are more closely drawn together In the case of an old Susian flat seal one of the two animal-bodies is clearly

1 H Lommel, Die alten Arier, Frankfurt a M 1935, p 113 ff

male, the other not so characterized is probably intended as female

We acknowledge then the conception of a horned animal with two bodies grown end to end Although this creature sometimes has the appearance of an antelope we can recognize in the majority of the representations that a double-bovine is intended and in the following we shall speak only of these Since we can identify the horned heads and the fore feet in the comb-symbols and since in other cases the bodies of the cows taper down into comb-teeth we are led to the conception of a double rain and heavens-cow also represented as double-sexed (Susian picture African myth).

The afore-mentioned explanations of our archæological material are supported by ethnological evidence (comb rain comb and cow rain giving heavens-cow) but the perception of the two-headed horned animal as a (rain bestowing) heavens-cow although it necessarily follows as a result of the relationships between the various existing representations has no ethnological proof But here the Vedic texts are an important complement of the evidence which we have had hitherto for this primeval and widely-spread myth

In my earlier book "Die alten Arier" I discussed the Vedic myth of the heavens-cow with rather copious evidence.[1] According to this myth heaven is a cow who gives in the rain her milk nourishing all creatures and plants and who is the mother of all giving birth to every living being In the course of this paper here I have already shown how this mythical conception is related to the ones found in Africa and discussed by Miss Weyersberg and myself in "Paideuma I" There I have supplemented my earlier discussion of the myth of the heavens-cow in that I have collected and explained the Vedic evidence with regard to the bull-cow We can recognize clearly in the Veda that the cosmic primordial bovine was thought of as father and at the same time as

1. I add Rv 10 12,3 AV 2 1,1 but these passages are not very conclusive.

mother of all living beings. But most of the passages do not permit us to make a concrete and pictorial representation of this mythical and enigmatical primordial creature

Nevertheless I could refer to passages where the cow Soma-Krayanī is addressed as "two-headed Aditi" (T. S 1 2 4,2 = V S 4, 19 etc) Since Aditi is the universe, the breadth of the heavens[1], we have here exactly in words the same image that we have in the proto-Elamic representations in comb-form of the two-headed horned animal which gives rain

Further evidence can be found in AV 4 11,8, the draft-ox, of which it is said "That is the middle of the draft-ox, where this carrying is set (*i e*, where the yoke rests Whitney), so much of him is extended forward as he is put altogether extended backward" And this ox is also a cow, for he has an udder and gives rain as milk

We also find evidence of the double-bovine in AV 5 19, 7, where the cow of the Brahman is mentioned eight-footed, four-eyed, four-eared, four-jawed, two-mouthed and two-tongued, as the avenging divinity against the king, who has laid hands on the property of the Brahman These words are like a description of the old Assyrian and Babylonian figures of double-creatures which Miss Weyersberg has used as illustrations for our article in Paideuma I Just why the cow assumes this form in order to punish the guilty king is at present enigmatical, and we cannot see any connection here with the firmament, which the mythical cow represents in the other cases

In RV 1 164,40-42 the old image of the creative cow which gives birth to all things is also used She creates the waters of the earth, and the oceans gush forth from her,

1 We cannot here go into the problem that Aditi, especially in the Brahmanas, is also the earth, and it is not necessary for our argument For the interpretation of the two-headed Aditi (Soma-Krayanī) as the goddess of speech (*vāc*) in S Br III, 2 4,13 we can give parallels in the following

and since the eternal streams forth from her she is the same as the world-cow (AV 10 10[1]) And she too bears (v 14) the *rcas* and *sāmāni* is therefore identical with the *vāc* which in RV 1, 164 40-42 signifies the buffalo-cow Since an indefinite number of feet are imputed to her (1 2, 4, 8, 9) with a thousand syllables we are again reminded by the word *aṣṭāpadi* (eight footed) of that picture of the double-bovine however in connection with the different numbers of feet and their probable relevance to metrical feet, the association with the original mythical perceptions is very much disintegrated if it ever existed at all.

The two-headed buffalo mentioned in RV 4 58 is therefore a more important example of the Vedic conception of the celestial cow with two bodies. This poem (RV 4 58) is puzzling in many ways and has been even for the oldest Veda interpreters. Nor shall I attempt here to expound the whole poem but shall deal only with those verses which are important for our line of thought.

Ghee (v 1) is spoken of in words which would suit just as well for Soma (a) "This has attained immortality with the Soma branch (or by means of it)" (b) it has therefore, attained equivalence or symbolical identity with Soma by means of this combination The hidden name also of Ghee is sought for (v 2) and (2d) we read "the four horned buffalo has spewn it out (3) he has four horns three feet, two heads seven hands the steer bellows in his threefold fetters. The great God has entered into the mortals" Whatever meaning we may be permitted to give these perplexing words — it cannot be determined definitely — we recommend here, as always to try to call up before our mind's eye a concrete specific picture of what is described in words (For mythology is thought in pictures pictorial thought.[2]) Then we have the primordial mythological image of the two-

1. H. Lommel, "Di alten Arier" p. 116 ff.
2. H. Lommel, "Mythologie in Bildern in Frobenius, ein Lebenswerk.

headed cow before us It is, to be sure, difficult to visualize as a real form (as are other legendary creatures, compare for instance 3. 56,3) with its three legs and seven hands The poet has metamorphosed the mythical image into something enigmatical, inconceivable, in order to intimate the inherent inscrutability of the divine

The Indian interpreters do not explain these words mythically but mystically, so Yāska 13,7 the four horns are the four Vedas, the three feet are the three pressings of the Soma-plant[1], the two heads are the beginning and end (of the Soma-sacrifice), the seven hands are the seven meters and the steer is fettered three-fold by Mantra, Brahman and Kalpa[2]

The steer is then the sacrifice, as the commentator Mahidhara remarks in his explanation of V S 17, 91, and as Yāska's words also indicate I do not believe, however, that this explanation helps us to understand the matter[3] For the words of the text, v 2b "By this sacrifice we will hold fast (the hidden name of the Ghee) with signs of awe", scarcely allow us to identify this sacrifice, whereby the glorified name of the Ghee is proclaimed, is held fast and is heard by the Brahman, with the buffalo who has spewn out the Ghee

These words *avamīd gaura etat* are also problematical. Geldner understands here *vam* in the sense in which it is used in 10 108,8 "to eject words, to break out in speech"[4] and refers *etat* to *nāma* the buffalo "let slip" the secret

1 Comp. AV 10 20 6 the cow has the sacrificial offering as feet (*yajñapadī*)

2 Geldner assumes (probably with regard to such passages) that there is a certain relationship between the numbers of the members of this buffalo and definite numbers in the ritual, of which we know nothing

3 AV 11 1,34 *yajñam duhānam pumāmsam dhenum* probably means "the male cow, from which the offering is milked" however the translations "le sacrifice, qui se laisse traire" (V Henry) and "the offering yielding milk" (Whitney) are also possible

4 Comp Hillebrandt's remarks on this passage in "Lieder des Rigveda," p 147, n 6

name of the Ghee. It is, however much more plausible to refer this *etat* to the Ghee *ghrtam* as Uvaṭa does in his remarks on VS 17 90 and to explain *avamid* in its direct sense as the old commentators do who simply paraphrase it with *udgirati* It is also difficult to believe that the word *vam* used in a derogatory sense of ejecting words could be used here, for if the buffalo had announced the secret name, then that would have been as the connection shows a revelation to be acknowledged gratefully of which one could not speak with a censuring or contemptuous word

The Gaura buffalo mentioned in 2 d and 3 a-c is not however the same being as the great God in 3 d who has entered into the mortals. This God is to be sure Soma but not, as Geldner thinks the buffalo as well For the fact that Soma is a bull gives us no reason for identifying the buffalo here with Soma. The last line of verse 3 in which the great God (Soma) is referred to is an independent sentence and stands for itself

Thus, in spite of all ambiguousness everything points to the explanation that the buffalo has ejected the Ghee, Soma. He is therefore no other than the heavens bovine, which we already know and that he ejects the Soma Ghee the heavens-milk from his mouth is not more amazing than that the steer as cow has milked the bright, *i. e* milk or Soma (*sukram* which can also mean semen sperm) out of his udder 4 3 10 (comp AV 11. 1,34) and is not more astonishing than the accumulation of paradoxes in AV 9 4,3 and 4 the male steer who is pregnant and rich in milk, and whose semen are calf afterbirth fresh milk, beestings curd and ghee

It is often so in the development of the myth that the old images of the simple nature-myth are kept but are filled with a new content. We could give countless examples of this process wherein the myth proves its indestructibility for its poetic language is used again and again to give

expression to new thoughts Especially the more detailed, and thereby more pictorial, accounts of the heavens cow belong in part to a younger stratum of Vedic poetry And there the myth of the goddess in the form of a cow, who is mother of the whole world and also the genitor of all beings, in her double function as male and female, is used in an attempt to express in words the vague and mystical percipience of a divine, universal and primordial being, existing beside, perhaps even above the gods Nevertheless we recognize in all this evidence, as well as in the last mentioned passage from RV 4 58, the ancient image of the heavens-cow with the double body, which is indigenous in Asia from Mohenjo Daro to Susa

In closing, I emphasize once more the important fact that Vedic evidence could be used here to explain archæological records which did not originate in Aryan-Indian culture, which preceded it in time, and are separated from it in space, in turn these Vedic passages find elucidation in those archæological monuments In this way cultural connections with the Vedic world can be shown which until now have been hidden from us

---

INTERPRETATION OF A FEW AVESTAN WORDS

By K. E. Punegar, B A

An attempt has been made in this paper to interpret a few stray words employed in the Gāthās and the later Avestā as a feeler for the better understanding of the texts in which these words occur

1 [illegible]

This word occurs in

(a) Mithra Yast § 84

[illegible]

"(Mithra) whom even the Drighu of the-holy-creed approaching through his-own regulations verily with-up-stretched hands invokes for help."

(b) Ahunavaiti Gāthā Chap. VII (Yasna Hā 34) strophe 5

[illegible]

"O Mazdā! through-deeds I-shall be like you with-a-view to render-prosperous Your Drighu through-holiness and good-mind(edness)

(c) Sros Hādokht § 3

[illegible]

"The holy Sraosha is most prospering the Drighu."

(d) Vahistā Isti Gāthā (Yasna Hā 53) strophe 9

[illegible]

"O Mazdā! it (is) Thy (volitional-) power whereby Thou-givest the better-(than-the-good) to-the-righteously-living Drighu."

(e) Yasna Hā 10 (Haoma Yašt) § 13

[illegible]

"Homage unto Haoma! Since he-renders the-mind of-the-Drighu as-great as even-that-of-the-most-illustrious, . . (so-great) that through-knowledge it-goes high-up"

(f) Yasna Hā 57 (Srōš Yašt dar-šap) § 10

[illegible]

"(Sraosha) who constructs a strong house of-the-male-Drighu and of-the-female-Drighu"

(g) Ahuna Vairya:

[illegible]

"(Zarathuštra) whom He-appointed the-regulator for-the-Drighus"

From the above passages, we can fix up the characteristics of the Drighu as one who lives righteously and is of the holy creed, whom the Holy Sraosha renders prosperous, so, too, does Zarathuštra through holiness and good-mindedness, for him Zarathuštra is appointed a regulator, and the holy Sraosha is constructing for him a strong house Through his volitional-power Mazdā gives him the *summum bonum*, and Haoma renders his mind as great as that of the most illustrious, and so great that it rises up through knowledge. There is no trait of poverty attached to the 'drighu' in the Gāthik or the Avestan literature Hence, there can be no justification for interpreting the word as meaning "the poor", as is done by the translators The Pahlavi word for [illegible] is [illegible] which should rather be read, from the Avestan word, as *driguš* The Persian equivalent is درویش, which connotes the notion of 'a mendicant", who begs for alms as a part of his religious discipline

So, we may derive the word [illegible] from the root [illegible] (=Sk. दृह्) "to strengthen" "to make firm" Hence the etymological meaning of the word should be "one who is strong and firm in religious and ethical matters, rather than 'a poor man'" inasmuch as religion cannot draw distinction between the poor and the rich but it takes into account the religious spirit and the virtues of the poor and the rich. From the standpoint of religion monetary riches or poverty in themselves do not connote virtue or vice

2 [illegible]

This word occurs only once in the existing Avestan texts in Yasna 12, 9 as an epithet of the Māzdayasni religion In the Kusti Pādyāb prayer the *Mazdayasnō ahmi* consists of §§ 8-9 of Yasna Hā 12 and as such the word occurs in that prayer also. If we split up the word its component parts are [illegible] + [illegible] + [illegible] + [illegible] + [illegible] + [illegible] The root [illegible] means "to throw forth or away" The word [illegible] is derived from the root [illegible] "to join" + the suffix [illegible] added to form an abstract noun denoting instrumentality Hence the form is [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] — [illegible] being a phonic insertion — meaning "the-instrument-of binding As the word qualifies [illegible], which is in the feminine gender the final [illegible] is changed into [illegible] to form the feminine to which is added [illegible] the accusative singular termination. Thus, the word is [illegible]-stem, feminine accusative singular, and means "throwing off the instruments for binding (*i e.*, the chains of earthly bondage)" Hence the Māzdayasni religion is regarded as throwing off whatever is instrumental in keeping men bound up to this world *i. e* worldly thoughts and attractions, and thereby preparing them for the higher world, cf Vandidād Pargard 3 41 The Māzdayasni religion throws off bonds"

3. [illegible]

This word too is an epithet of the Māzdayasni religion occurring in the same text Yasna 12, 9 The word is made up of [illegible] + [illegible] + [illegible] + [illegible] The root [illegible] [illegible] (= Sk नि धा)

means "to establish", "to implant", "to fix" Cf [illegible] in Yasna 10, 10, [illegible] in the Fravardin Yašt, 100, [illegible] in Yasna 49 3, [illegible] in the Mithra Yašt, 64, Behrām Yašt, 38, [illegible] in Vandidād 7, 45, 46, 49 [illegible] (from rt [illegible], "to cut"), means "a weapon' The Māzdayasnī religion is thus regarded as "an established weapon', "a weapon implanted in us', like a shield, which keeps us safe and sound against outside influences and temptations.

4. [illegible]

Occurring only once in the Avestā, in Yasna Hā 62 (Ātaš Nīyāišn), 2, this word is made up of [illegible], "close" + [illegible] (from root [illegible], "to lie down", of the 1st class,) + [illegible] ātmanepadi present participial suffix, [illegible]-stem locative singular. Hence the word means "close prostration", which refers to the every day practice of kneeling down before the fire, bending the head down, and giving respect to it The phrase [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] would mean "May'st-thou-be-worthy-of-close-prostration"

5 [illegible] [illegible]

The literal signification of these two words is "moulder of the universe" According to the Ahunavaiti Gāthā, Chapter 2 (Yasna Hā 29), strophe 1, the Gēuš Urvā, "Soul of the Universe" makes an appeal to [illegible], Your-two", the word being a possessive second personal pronoun, plural, dative case, dual number Who these "Your-two" are can be found out from the strophe 2, where 'Gēus Tashan' is depicted as conveying to Asha the inquiries made by 'Gēuš Urvan' in strophe 1 This clears up the idea that 'Geuš Tashan' is "Your-two" In Yasna Hā 1, we find ' I invoke Vohu Mananh, Asha Vahišta, Khshathra Vairya, Spenta Āramaiti, Haurvatāt, Ameretāt, Gēuš Tashan and Gēuš Urvan, for co-operation with Ahura Mazdā" From this it is clear that 'Gēuš Tashan' is next to Ahura Mazdā and the Ameshāspentas, and prior to 'Gēus Urvan' In other words, we can say that 'Gēuš Tashan' is a being other than Ahura Mazdā and the Ame-

shâspentas who have been named before him Similarly it can be seen that [illegible] "Your two", which stands for [illegible] in strophe 1 is in the dual and it does not stand for Ahura Mazdâ or any of the Ameshâspentas. Gêus Tashan is therefore "Your two", i e. Ahura Mazdâ's dual agency In Yasna Hâ 57 (= Srôs sur sap) 2, we find Sraosha extolling Ahura Mazdâ the Ameshâspentas (*en bloc*) and the [illegible] [illegible] (the two protecting moulders") who moulded all the creations who looking to the order given in Yasna Hâ 1 1 are identical with [illegible] [illegible] Thus in both the places namely, in Yasna Hâ 29, 1 and Yasna Hâ 57 2 Gêus Tashan connotes a dual agency which on the one hand is Your (Ahura's)-two and on the other the two protecting moulders, who moulded all the creations" This dual agency is mentioned in the Ahunavaiti Gâthâ Chapter 3 (Yasna Hâ 30) strophe 3 as "the two primeval spirits which (are) twain—the better and the evil and in strophe 4 we are told "When these two spirits coalesced at first it (the coalescence) produced life and lifelessness In strophe 5 we read Of these-two spirits the wicked whilst acting chose the worst and the most beneficent spirit chose Asha" In the Ustavaiti Gâthâ Chapter 3 (Yasna Hâ 45) strophe 2 the text runs thus Of the two spirits the more fructifying ([illegible]) addressed him who was Anra ([illegible])" In the Srôs Hâdôkht 12 and in Yasna Hâ 57, 17 we find Who (Sraosha) did not sleep well after the two-spirits produced the creatures—he who is spenta mainyu and he who is anra So also in the Fravardin Yast 76: "The two spirits spenta and anra produced the creatures"

From all the passages given above we gather that "Your-two", namely Gêus Tashan, are the two-protecting moulders who moulded all the creations referred to in Yasna Hâ 57 2, they are the primeval spirit" which are twain of Yasna Hâ 30 3 those whose coalescence brought about life and lifelessness (§ 4) those who chose Asha and the

worst" (§ 5), the two spirits of whom the more-fructifying addressed Anra (Hā 45, 2), and finally "the two spirits, namely, 'spenta mainyu' and 'anra mainyu', who produced the creatures (Srōš Hādōkht, 12, Fravardin Yašt, 76, and Yasna Hā 57, 17) Such is the theological creed, peculiar to Zoroastrianism, of the two spirits ([Avestan]), possessing distinctly separate characteristics but united in function, as are the positive and negative poles in electricity and magnetism, rarefaction and compression in 'sound', male and female in animal, human and other creations

6 [Avestan]

This word occurs only once in the Ahunavaiti Gāthā, Chapter 2 (Yasna Hā 29), strophe 5

[Avestan]

The Pahlavī version renders the word [Avestan] by [Avestan] (Spiegel [Avestan],) "ruin", "destruction". This rendering has led our scholars to attribute to this Avestan word a bad sense Here, the prefix [Avestan] is placed before the form [Avestan] Elsewhere, we find

(1) the privative prefix [Avestan] attached to [Avestan], as in [Avestan] in Yasna Hā 30 (Gāthā Ahunavaiti, Chapter 3), strophe 4, which the scholars take to mean "lifelessness", "non-life",

(2) [Avestan] prefixed to [Avestan], as in [Avestan] [Avestan], "long life" (Yasna Hā 33, strophe 5)

(3) [Avestan] prefixed to [Avestan], as in [Avestan] "good life" (Āwān Yašt, 130), [Avestan] (Ustavaiti Gāthā, Chapter 4, Yasna Hā 46, strophe 8)

(4) [Avestan] prefixed to [Avestan], as in [Avestan] (Yasna Hā 46, strophe 8)

On the strength of these collateral words, we are justified in translating [Avestan] as "forward, progressive living", and the line as "Is there no progressive-existence for-him-who-leads a-righteous-life, nor for-him-who-is-progressive in-the-midst-of-the-wicked-beings ?"

USE OF SANSKRIT FORMS OF THE AVESTAN WORDS

At times it is difficult to assign any intelligible meaning to certain Avestan words as they are found but a better meaning can be assigned to them by regarding them as Sanskrit phonetic forms of the original Avestan In this connection we shall attempt an explanation of a few words.

1 [Avestan] in

[Avestan]

(Yasna Hā 62 7, Ātaś Nyaisn 7)

This phrase has been invariably translated as "For whom this (i. e., the fire) cooks (or prepares) the night and day (meals)"

Here the word [Avestan] is correctly translated as "pertaining to the day (literally pertaining to the sun time) But the Avestan word for the sun is [Avestan] (Sk. स्वर) the adjectival form of which can be [Avestan] But here in the text instead of the Avestan form [Avestan] its Sanskrit equivalent सुर [Avestan] is employed which takes the epenthetic [Avestan] in the Avestā and so the form is [Avestan] the accusative singular of which is [Avestan]

2 [Avestan] in

[Avestan]

(Ahunavaiti Gāthā Chapter 2, Yasna Hā 29 strophe 3.)

This word has been variously explained Pahlavi [Avestan] "authority" Mills "chief [with some shelter]" Moulton and Guthrie "helper" Harlez "chief" Kanga "cruel" originally "head-smiter"

We can secure a better sense by regarding the word as the Sanskrit form of the Avestan [Avestan] (Sk. सृजन of Gujarati "[illegible]") from the root [Avestan] "to liberate, hence a liberator" The phrase seems to convey an appropriate notion when we translate the line as follows

"To-him (namely Gēus Tashan) Asha responded (lit., he responded through Asha) There (is) no liberator for the-Universe (rendering her) free-from-harm

3 [Avestan] in

[Avestan]

(Ahunavaiti Gāthā, Chapter 2, Yasna Hā 29, strophe 9)

"The voice of-a-lordly-man, whom I-accept as-an-approved-lord"

Most of the translators have evidently taken the word to be made up of [Avestan], "non-", and [Avestan], "valiant", Mills "non-heroic", Moulton and Guthrie "impotent", Kanga "weak", Spiegel "non-accomplishing" We cannot reconcile ourselves with these meanings inasmuch as Zarathuštra's nomination as prophet was the direct outcome of 'Gēuš Urvan resigning completely to the will of Ahura Mazdā Cf strophe 4 "Ahura Himself (is) the Discerner, so may-it be unto-us as He wishes." After such complete resignation to the will of Ahura Mazdā, 'Gēuš Urvan' could not but accept His nomination of Zarathuštra as prophet Thus the word must be a Sanskrit form of the Avestan [Avestan], "lordly"

4 [Avestan] in

[Avestan]

(Gāthā Vahistā Īšti, Yasna Hā 53, strophe 2)

To bring out an adequate sense of this strophe, I prefer to look upon this word as the Sanskrit form of the Avestan [Avestan], "they followed", from √[Avestan] = Sk सच्, "to follow" According to this interpretation, "Vištāspa and Frashaoštra *followed* him (Zarathuštra) with thought, words and deeds", and this is a proper explanation of the line. The Pahlavi version explains the word, which is a verbal form, by [Pahlavi], "teaching", which is a verbal noun, Mills "May they complete", Moulton "let them seek", Spiegel "learn", Kanga "shall teach", Guthrie "strive" See [Avestan] in Yasna Hā 53, strophe 1

Sir Jamšedji Jijibhai
Zartošti Madressa, Bombay

———

NOTE DI LESSICOGRAFIA PAHLAVICA

Del Prof. A. Pagliaro

1. *hac*, *hamist* 'insieme con'; 2. 'ad insaniam aliquem adigere'; 3. *dēpahr* 'ira'; 4. *hamaēdēn* da *hamaivēn* 'della stessa natura, analogo e di ogni specie, tutto'.

I

1. *hac*, *hamist* 'insieme con'

1. In *Bd.* 11, 13 sg. si legge: *40 rōc sapān mēnūkān yazdān apāk ganāk*[1] *mēnūk [u] hamist*[2] *dēvān ō gētīh hamkōxšišn būt hand* "Per 40 giorni e notti gli Yazata spirituali procedettero alla lotta materiale con lo spirito malvagio e i demoni". Nel passo corrispondente del *GrBd.* 45, 10, sgg. la parola *hamist* è resa invece con l'ideogramma.

In base a questa rispondenza, che ricorre pure altre volte nelle due redazioni del *Bundahišn*, e in base alla lettura pāzand che ricorre in *Šr.* 4, 76, 89, 16, 8, 96, il Bartholomae *zSR* 3, 83 sgg. (a cui rimando per la documentazione dei passi) ha sostenuto la lettura *hamist* per l'ideogramma.

2. Nel *Frahang* pahlavico edito da Salemann, *PHds.* 87, 1, 6 sg. viene dato come rispondenza cioè *hamē*, e così pure nel ms. M 25 Bartholomae *ZendHss.* *53, l. 23 e no. 3 (v. sotto § 12). Nyberg *Hilfsb.* II, 94 legge *hamē* 'insieme'[3] (cfr. duro *MO* 17, 203) e nella frase *GrBd.* 45, 11 *ganāk mēnūk u dēvān* pensa che sia da leggere *hamē*, caso obl. di *ham* 'tutto'; l'uso dell'ideogramma sarebbe dovuto a uno

1. Cfr. Bailey *BSOS.* 7, 765 sgg.

2. Scritto

3. L'ideogr. è da Nyberg spiegato come *hdh* *hᵃdā* 'insieme'.

scambio fra *hamē* 'tutti' e *hamē* 'insieme' Schaeder, *Ir. Beitr* I, 232 no 2 si associa a Nyberg e legge *hamē*

3 Il Bartholomae, l c 34 ha raccolto una notevole quantita di passi, in cui [illegible] è in connessione con [illegible] e dai quali risulta che il significato è 'insieme con'. Gli esempi sono tratti dal *MhD* e due dal *Kn*, oltre qualcuno meno perspicuo dal *Dk* Il significato accertato appare fuori di ogni dubbio.

4 Con lo stesso significato e la stessa costruzione con *az* appare nei testi turfanici *h m y s* 470 r, 12, 19, 472 v, 10 (v Salemann *MSt* 84 che intende 'getrennt' ?, v sotto) Lo stesso senza *az* in 4 d, 9, in *Mahrn* 221 dove Muller, *Doppelbl* 17 intende *hamēs* 'zusammen, in S 9, c 32 dove Jackson, *Res* 82 intende come aggettivo *sārān hmyys* 'the years combined-with' (cioè gli anni che sono parte del tempo della grande contesa), in M 28 R II 25, *hmys*, Andreas-Henning II, 24 e 56 'zusammen mit' Cfr inoltre Tedesco, *MO* 15 198 (*hamis* 'mit') e Henning, *GGA*. 1935, 15 sgg

5 In Henning, *Man Bet -u Beichtbe*, 111 si registra un *h m y r* che ricorre nel testo a r 389, a cui viene dato il significato di 'zusammen, im ganzen' e si avanza l'ipotesi che *hamīr* da *hamihr* sia la forma pahlavik rispondente a pārsik *hmys* e che l'una e l'altra siano derivate da a p *ham(m)iϑr-(iy)a-* (diversamente da **hamisya-* a i *sammiśra-* in *GGA* l c)[1]

Gia Salemann, l c e Tedésco, l c, avevano riportato la forma mp T S *hamis* ad a p *hamiçiya-* 'ribelle', il primo cercando anche una parentela di significato (e perciò intende 'getrennt'), il secondo ponendosi la differenza di significato come problema

6 Riassumendo, i testi turfanici in evidente corrispondenza all'ideogramma mp L [illegible] danno N *hamīr*, S *hamis*

1 Henning, a cui e sfuggito Bartholomae, *zSR* 3 38 sgg, non tiene conto di *hamist* che rende nei libri pahlavici l'ideogramma Bartholomae non tenne invece conto di *hmys* dei testi turfanici

La rispondenza è tale sia nel significato sia nella forma che si dovrà senz'altro accettarla specie se si riesce a dimostrare la discendenza delle forme da a.p. *hamiçiya* e rintracciare cioè, dato che la derivazione fonetica è indubbia, i passaggi di significato che da quello di 'ribelle' dell'a.p. hanno condotto ai vari significati delle forme medio persiane.

7. La giusta etimologia di a.p. *hamiçiya* è stata data da Benveniste in Meillet, *Grammaire du Vieux-perse* 2 ed. 153 da *ha-mi0r-iya* (cioè 'chi partecipa a un patto', cfr. lat. *coniurātus*, gr. *συνώμοτος*). Da questo significato si è sviluppato quello di 'ribelle, indipendente' che appare così frequentemente nell'iscrizioni di Bisutun. Qui è un aggettivo maschile e femminile costruito con il genitivo della persona oppure con *hacā* e l'ablativo. B.I, 11 *pasāva kāra haruva hamiçiya abava hacā Ka(n)bujiya abiy avam [a]šiyava utā pārsa utā māda utā aniyā dahyāva.* "In seguito l'armata diventò tutta ribelle a Cambise e passò a quello e così la Persia e così la Media e così le altre province". B.I, 21 *imā dahyāva tyā hacāma hamiçiyā abava.* "Queste le regioni che mi si ribellarono" etc.

Non vi può essere dubbio che tanto la formula *hac hamis* che appare in m.p.T.S. come quella di m.p.L. ... da leggere dopo quanto si è detto pure *hac ... hamis* costituiscano derivazione diretta da questa locuzione in a.p. Come si spiega però il passaggio al significato che qui è certo di 'insieme con', cioè di una locuzione che ha valore prepositionale?

8. A me pare che tale mutamento di significato sia dovuto ad uno sviluppo semantico molto ovvio che da 'congiurato e ribelle' ha condotto ad 'autonomo ed indipendente'. Già nei passi citati dell'iscrizione di Bisutūn si può intendere benissimo 'in seguito l'armata si resè indipendente da Cambise' ... 'e le regioni che si resero indipendenti da me'. Lo sviluppo ulteriore di significato è dovuto al passaggio da dominio, diciamo così, reale a un dominio logico

e da un valore aggettivale a quello avverbiale, *hač* . *hamıs* vale 'indipendentemente da', 'senza tenere conto di', 'oltre a'[1] Questo nuovo significato appare perspicuo nei due passi del *Kn*

Kn. (ed Nosherwān) 72 *artaγšēr hač spāh i γvēš viyāpān bē būt u andar šap ō viyāpān*[2] 1 *mat hē-š ēč āp [u] χvarišn nē būt γvat* ← *asbārān u stōrān* ﺶﺮﻮ *ō gursakīh u tišnakīh mat* "Ardashīr si smarrì dal suo esercito e nella notte pervenne in un deserto dove non c'era né acqua né da mangiare ed egli stesso, oltre ai cavalieri, e alle bestie giunse alla fame e alla sete"

Kn 134 *ētōn gōβand ku varčāvand ātur i farnbaγ i pērōčkar ētōn čiγōn γrōh 1 i suγr andar parrīt u parr ō pist žat u ān yām* ← *pist* ﺶﺮﻮ *hač dast i artaγšēr ō zamīk ōpast* "Si racconta che lo splendido fuoco Farnbaγ vittorioso, come un gallo rosso, volò dentro e batté l'ala sulla farina e il recipiente oltre alla farina cadde a terra"

È chiaro che intendendo in questi passi *hač* *hamıs* . come 'oltre a' il significato della frase diventa più perspicuo Diventa chiaro nel primo passo l'uso di *γvat* 'egli in persona' (oltre ai cavalieri e ai cavalli che erano con lui); e nel secondo si spiega che in seguito al colpo dell'ala del gallo purpureo, impersonante il fuoco Farnbaγ sulla farina, non soltanto la farina, ma anche il recipiente viene sbattuto al suolo.

9 Anche nei passi del *MhD* il significato di 'oltre a' alla locuzione *hač ... hamıs* si adatta pienamente *MhD* 18 10 sg *ka gōβēt ku-m ēn dastkart*+ *hač har čē-š andar hamıs ō tō [dāt]* "Se uno dice questo podere, oltre a ciò che in esso c'è, è dato a te .."

1. Un siffatto mutamento di significato, dovuto al passagio dalla sfera reale alla sfera soggettiva non manca di riscontri si cfr l'uso di *ultro* in latino che da 'moltre', 'in aggiunta' è passato a significare 'senza ragione' e infine 'spontaneamente', 'volentieri'

2. Su *viyāpān* 'deserto' v sotto p 112 no

MhD 9 5 sg *pēšēmār xvāstak i š hac pasēmār bē grift hac bar i-š burt hamiš pat tāvānīhā-c ō pasēmār dahišn.* "Il convenuto deve restituire all attore la cosa presa, oltre ai frutti da essa maturati a titolo di risarcimento", cfr Bthl. *SRb* 24 sg (dove si vuole sostituito *apāk* con ad *hac*)

MhD 16. 1 sg *ka tōzišn i pitar xvāhand zan i pat dūtak i pit u ān ec i pat dūtak i pus hac sardār hamiš hamēmār kunišn.* Se si chiede il pagamento di un debito di un padre (defunto) la moglie per la famiglia del padre e quella (del figlio) per la famiglia del figlio oltre al tutore sono da chiamare in giudizio" Si tratta, come bene ha visto Bthl., *s R* 8, 36 del caso in cui il figlio che era subentrato al padre defunto è pure morto e allora, oltre al tutore sono chiamate a rispondere del debito paterno tanto la moglie del padre quanto quella del figlio Diversamente ha inteso la frase Bulsara *The Laws of Ancient Iran*, 180.

10. Ma il passagio di significato da oltre a a insieme con quando si tratti di cosa che è normalmente congiunta con l altra è passaggio ovvio *MhD* 28. 18 *ka kunet ku-m ēn ātaxš hac xvāstak hamiš nēm pat sardārīh ō tō dāt sardārīh xup u š ān nēm pat patvand bē ravēt.* "Se uno stabilisce di questo fuoco insieme con la somma (ad esso destinata) la metà è affidato alla tua tutela, la decisione va bene e ai congiunti va l altra metà"

MhD 86 2 *mart uzenak i pat xānak u katas u xvāstak i š hac an mart hamiš xveš* "Un uomo la spesa per una casa un canale, una proprietà che egli possiede insieme con un altro uomo " (orig oltre a un altro uomo).

Non ritengo occorrano altri esempi per spiegare questo ovvio passaggio di significato Esso è risultato dal ritorno della nozione espressa dalla sfera logica a quella reale, per cui ciò su cui non si ritiene di insistere, perchè ha una posizione subordinata rispetto alla cosa principale con la quale è normalmente congiunto appare nel suo aspetto di unione alla cosa principale

11. Questa nozione di stretto legame con una cosa principale appare nella forma aggettivale, che nei testi di Turfan è *hamys*, mentre nei libri pahlavici appare con l'ideogramma [Pahlavi script] o è reso con *hamist* Il significato originario è certamente non quello di 'tutto' bensì quello che Jackson (v sopra) ha reso con 'combined-with' e che in italiano si può rendere con 'relativi'[1] Nel passo del *Bd* 11 13, riportato all'inizio (*GrBd* 45 10), il significato di *ganāk mēnūk u hamist dēv* è precisamente lo spirito malvagio e relativi demoni' Tale significato è da attribuire agli altri passi in cui la formula ricorre Cfr *GrBd* 17 13, dove la congiunzione *u* è regolarmente segnata

Diamo uno sguardo ad alcuni dei passi fra quelli indicati da Bartholomae l. c, che a prima vista sembrerebbero contrari a questa interpretazione *DkM* 229 15 *amark čiyōn gayōmart pēš hač dušmēnīkīh būt u hamist martom pat tan i pasīn kovēt* " Immortale come fu Gayōmart prima dell'azione nemica e l'umanita relativa nella resurrezione". Evidentemente qui è accenno al fatto che la umanità (*mart-tōɣm* 'seme degli uomini') è nata, secondo la tradizione cosmogonica iranica, dal seme di Gayōmart (Christensen, *Le premier homme* I p 9 sgg).

Lo stesso significato di 'legato' con 'relativo a' è da vedere nel passo *Šv* 16, 8 sgg che nella trascrizione in pahlavī di Bartholomae (l c p 39) suona *gēϑīh hamist tankartīh i ahriman hamist tankartīh dahišn i ahriman* È da intendere "Il mondo materiale è personificazione di Ahriman, la creazione corporea è relativa ad Ahriman" (è connessa cioè con Ahriman)

12. Una probabile conferma di questo significato si ha nella singolare corrispondenza *pāzand* [Pāzand script], [Pāzand script] in Antia, *PāzT* 21 2, 24 8 *ganā mainyō gaiōist devā*, cfr

1. Il significato aggettivale di *hamist* com'è da noi indicato si confà a tutti i casi in cui la parola ricorre, mentre non è così con il significato di 'insieme', 'al tempo stesso' (così Henning, *GGA*. 9 16) Evidentemente il valore della preposizione si ha quando c'è la costruzione con *hač*, Per la lettura *hamist*, in luogo di *hamis*, v sotto.

22, 8 24 8 su cui Bthl *ZendHss* 54 no Salemann *GrIrPh* 1 a 294

Poiché m p. *virravist* (pāz. *garōist*) significa fedele la redazione pāzand evidentemente riflette un interpretazione di *hamist* nella formula *hamist dēv* assai vicina al vero[1]

13 Rimane ora da vedere in che rapporto sia *hamis* da a.p. *hamiçiya* iran *ha(m)miθriya* con *hamist* che è documentato sia come forma pahlavica sia come forma pāzand (v sopra)

Da notare è anzitutto il fatto che nella locuzione [illegible] *hac hamis* un *uzvārišn* corrispondente *hamist* non è documentato. Nel *Frahang* edito da Salemann (87 l. 6. sg v pure *GrIrPh* 1 a 320 e Bthl. *ZendHss* 54 no.) [illegible] viene reso con [illegible] cioè il comune *hamē* e forse in tale grafia è possibile riconoscere una riduzione grafica di [illegible] [illegible][2] Inoltre *hamist* è usato soltanto in posizione aggettivale e ciò può far pensare che si tratti di una formazione che rifletta origine diversa da *hamis*

14 Bartholomae, *zSR*. 3 38 considera *hamist* nel significato di *legato* come part. perf pass da mettere in rapporto con gath. *mōyastra* cioè *myastra* societas *AltiranWb* 1190 ma naturalmente trova difficoltà quando si tratta della locuzione avverbiale con *hac*

Infatti se la derivazione additata da Bartholomae fosse esatta, *hamist* dovrebbe essere qualche volta documentato in connessione con *apāk* con il che ch io mi sappia, non avviene[3] Ciò induce a escludere la derivazione proposta e a riportare ad *hamis* anche la forma *hamist*

15 A me pare che *hamist* dove ricorre in pahlavi come in pāzand sia da considerare come innovazione

1. Non è tuttavia da escludere che l'interpretazione pāzand sia dovuta ad un erroneo scambio fra [illegible] *hamist* e [illegible] *virravist* ([illegible] id ogr di *virrav-*)

2. V già Henning l. c 16.

3. Lo stesso è da obiettare a Jackson l. c. 190 sg. che pone per [illegible] *ham* + *myas* to mix together mbl e (in equal proportion)

artificiosa spiegabile nella tradizione del pahlavī come lingua religiosa avulsa dalle sorgenti dell'uso vivo Cfr Pagliaro, *Il posto del Pahlavi dei libri nella dialettologia iranica, in Atti del III Congresso internazionale dei Linguisti*, p 93 sgg

L'uscita piuttosto rara di *-s* ha facilmente condotto, quando la parola è stata usata in senso aggettivale, a una forma in *-st* (cfr *uzdēs* 'idolo' *uzdist*), così frequente nelle forme partecipiali

Invece la forma *hamis* originaria, documentata così sicuramente nei testi turfanici, appartiene certo alla più genuina fase del pahlavī come dialetto iranico sudoccidentale ed è da riconoscere nella formula [illegible] . [illegible] *hač ... hamis* 'insieme con'; quanto all'uso aggettivale si può, se ci si vuole attenere all'*uzvārišn*, conservare la lettura *hamist*, innovazione, come si è detto, specifica della tradizione colta dal pahlavī dei libri[1]

II

2 [illegible] [illegible] *viyāpān kartan* "ad insaniam aliquem adiger"

1 In *GrBd* 215 9 sgg parlandosi dell'azione comunista di Mazdak si dice *andar xvatāy* [*i*] *kavāt mazdak i bāmdātān ō paitākīh mat dāt i mazdakīh nihāt kavāt frēft* [*u*] *viyāpān kart žan u frazand u xvāstak pat hamīh u hambāγīh apāyēt dāštan framūt dēn i +māzdēsnān hač kār dāšt* "Durante il regno di Kavādh apparve Mazdak, figlio di Bāmdādh Egli fondò il mazdakismo, ingannò e tolse la ragione a Kavādh e stabilì che le donne e i figli e la proprietà fossero tenuti in comunione e società, tolse dalla pratica la religione mazdaica".

---

1 In N 12 23 si ha una forma [illegible] (in un solo ms [illegible]) che è forse da leggere *hamēst* 'contrario' ricavato da *hamēstār* 'nemico' (si parla del giudizio di Dio) *ka čvarīh hamēst apāk dārēt vēš pat sar brīnišn*. "Se ha dalla sua evidenza contraria, allora è da battere più fortemente sul Capo".

Il significato che abbiamo attribuito al nesso *viyāpān kart* (per la lettura v. sotto) e cioè tolse la ragione riferendolo a Kavādh come oggetto, merita di essere chiarito, e ciò gioverà anche a giustificare la lettura e fornire elementi per l'etimologia della parola *viyāpān* che non appare, ch'io mi sappia, nei testi turfanici e sembra parola esclusiva della tradizione linguistica zoroastriana.

2. Il complesso *viyāpān kart* appare anche nell'*AVn.* con il significato di sedurre traviare *AVn.* 88 6 7 *ēn ruvān i ō druvand mart ke-š pat gētīh apārōn marzīšnīh kart u-š an i kasān frēft u viyāpān kart*[1] Questa è l'anima dell'uomo empio, che nella vita terrena ebbe contatti impuri ed ingannò e sedusse la donna altrui" Un uso sinonimico di *viyāpān kartan* ha il denominativo *viyāpān ēnītan* *AVn.* 71 9 [*pat*] *carp-uzvān i zanān i kasān frēft u viyāpānēnīt*[2] *u hac šoi yutāk kart* Con la propria mellifluità di lingua ingannò e sedusse le mogli altrui e le fece separare dal marito"

3 Altrove *viyāpān* serve ad esprimere gli effetti dell'azione perturbatrice dello spirito malvagio *Mx* 57 26 *Zartušt pur xratīh*[3] *rāō xem u varīšn i frārōn nē niyōšīt u nē viyāpīhist pat ān viyāpānīh i gazestak ganāk i druvand frēftak u viyāpān ne būt* Zarathustra per la sua grande saggezza e la sua diritta scelta non ascoltò e non fu sedotto nell'azione mistificatrice del maledetto spirito menzognero egli non fu ingannato, né perdette la testa"

1. West legge *nīyāzān* e intende (*Gloss. a. Ind.* 226) 'wanting wishing longing craving desirous, solicitous' e quindi *nīyāzān kartan* 'to make desirous to tempt, to seduce'.

Il significato che la parola in questione ha altrove (v. sotto) esclude ogni rapporto con *niyāz* che significa propriamente bisogno ristrettezza. *Ps.* 23. 6 *Xvarxr* 10 e anche fame *Ka.* 68 *GrBd.* 211. 16, *niyāzāwand* bisognoso *DkM* 686. 5 Per *viyāpān* il *Pāz.* ha *vīā* ... *nyāzān* nel significato di innamorato appare in *Ka.* 31 *u pat-š nyāzān būt* '(la ragazza) s'innamorò di lui

2 West: *niyāzānīnīdan* 'to make desirous to instigate to tempt to seduce' *Gloss. a. Ind.* 226 sg.

3. Nyberg, *purr xratīh*, ma cfr. Pagliaro, *RSO* 11, 179 nº 2.

AVn 1 3-4 *pas gazēstak ganāk mēnūk i diuvand gumān kart i martomān pat ēn dēn rāδ ān gazēstak alaksandar i hrumāyāk i mučrāyīk māndān viyāpānēnit*[1] *pat garān sizd u nipart u dahīk ō ērān šahr āmatan.* "Poi il maledetto spirito malvagio ingannatore rese dubbiosi gli uomini su quella fede e Alessandro il Romano che si trovava in Egitto traviò in modo da recare violenza, guerra e distruzione al regno iranico"

GrBd 212 7 sgg *andar χvatāy i kai us andar ham hazārak dēvān staχmak būt hand ōsnar ō ōžanišn mat mēnišn ē viyāpānēnit*[2] *tāk ō kārēčār i āsmān šut* 'Durante il regno di Kai Us nello stesso millennio i demoni divennero violenti, Ošnar fu ucciso, (Kai Us) fu così traviato nel pensiero da andare alla guerra contro il cielo"

Significato di 'distacco, traviamento' dalla buona religione si ha in *Kn* 98 *gazēstak bovāt ganāk mēnūk diuvand kē ēn uzdēs i etōn cir [u] pātyāvand kart ēstēt ku hamavδēn martom u kustakīhā hač dēn i ōhr mazd u amahraspandān viyāpān kart ēstand* "Maledetto sia lo spirito malvagio e menzognero che ha fatto questo idolo così forte e tenace che tutti gli uomini e le province sono stati traviati dalla religione di Ohrmazd o degli Arcangeli"

4 Il significato di *viyāpān* è altrove significato mediale 'essere smarrito' Così è nel passo del *Kn* che abbiamo sopra tradotto *Kn.* 72 *artaχšēr hač spāh i χvēs viyāpān bē būt* "Ardasēr si smarrì dal suo esercito"[3]

Ad indicare uno stato permanente di smarrimento o disordine mentale *viyāpān* viene usato nell'interessante e poco studiato trattatello *Apar χēm u χrat i farroχv mart*

1 V sopra, p 111, n. 2

2 Anche Darmesteter, *ZA* II, 401 riporta la parola a *n.yāz* poiché intende 'il lui suggérèrent la pensée d'aller faire la guerre au ciel' Sull'apparente *niyāp* che si trova in *GrBd* 4 14 in un giro di frase affine (Nyberg, o c. 162) v la giusta osservazione di Henning, *GGA* 1935, 10 (si noti però che Ohrmazd appartiene alla frase seguente, l'id. ifat nel testo non c'è).

3 Antia 8, 2 (trasc. p 22 n° 6) riporta la parola a *niyāz* 'bisogno'

pubblicato nei *Pahlavi Texts* di Jamasp Asana (PT II 162 sgg.)

Nāmutr 6 *u zīrak* [*u*] *dānāk*[1] *mart ēdōn nēvak bavēt u stūtak ēdōn vēh stāyend pat hamāk gyāk ēdōn vēh burzend pat hamāk kešvar cīyōn ān draxt 1 i* +*razurōmand*[2] *kē tāk nē husk u sāyak hamēšak kār šīren pattāk har gāh sūtbar har gāh stūtak bur itak* 7 *ān i dušākās i* +*rīyāpān*[3] *ašakēc ān draxt nē humānāk cē ān draxt humānāk kē tāk nē* +*tar u razur nē āβarēt asūt apasīh*[4] *kart fratom cē vazīšn*[5] *bavēt mān mehān stūn i parvārān*[6] *u parisp i nēvak* "Un uomo deciso e saggio è così bene considerato, tanto lo elogiano in tutti i luoghi, tanto lo celebrano in tutte le parti della terra come l'albero ricco di frondi il cui tronco non è secco e la sua ombra sempre dolce a vedersi, in ogni luogo utile, in ogni luogo lodato e celebrato. 7 Lo stolto dissennato invece non è simile a quell'albero poiché è simile invece all'albero del ramo secco che non porta frondi, inutile e abbattuto, solo allora è di qualche utilità per casa e corte come colonna di palazzo e buona trave.

In connessione con *dušākās* si ha pure in 12 *ān i dušākās i rīyāpan kē xvēš tan rāh ōr grāyenet u š āhang pat xvēš vattar cē hac axvēš kārih dušnem hac grāyištih van*[7] *dērzīvišnih* [*i*] *xvēš-tan xvat kunet* "Quello stolto dissennato che tende alla violenza verso se stesso e i suoi disegni per sé sono i peggiori, difatti contrariamente al suo dovere, traviato dalla (sua) tendenza, da se stesso compie la distruzione della durata della propria vita."

1. Per l'integrazione cfr. il ricorrere del nesso in HAM 90 e 91 (ʾl ak u dānāk). Su ... v. Jackson, Les. 117 g. (aggiungi Hübschmann, Pe. s. St. 71.)

2. Il testo è in disordine perché il complesso r ... s ... r ... è stato distinto in ras... vito e la ... mand. L'attuale ... v. m. p. T. ... Foresta, Henning, BSOS 9. 87.

3. Jam As. ...

4. Così ms. JJ. Su ... pasih cf. Nyberg II, 16 apasīh kartan è sinonimo del frequente caus. apasīhēnītan.

5. ... 'capacità' Gr.Bd. 190 18.

6. Parvār 'palazzo' P. 121. 1 Andreas-Barr 87.

7. Va distruzione cfr. m. p. T. S. ... 'annientato' Henning BSOS 9. 89.

Infine ibid 20 si dice *mai tom-ēč i kui viyāpān kē pat bun i kāi stai t u vat-yrat u-š har gāh pat frahang vistayv pat pēš +staitak har rōč kamai bē apaiārand u afrank žanand andai bun dāi vāi gui g dāi and* . "Un uomo cieco e distratto che all'inizio dell'azione è disperso, di cattivo discernimento e in ogni tempo è trascurato nell'istruzione e stanco prima d'incominciare (di quei tipi che) ogni giorno spazzano la camera e rompono la decorazione e sul pavimento di legno tengono il fornello ."

Come si vede si tratta qui addirittura di uno stato psichica patologico e difatti in *PT* 73 14 sg si dice *dō hand vēmāi i viyāpān kē pat yiēš-tan musthar u stambak* .. "Due sono gli ammalati fuori senno, quello che su se stesso è violento e furioso" Purtroppo la frase si arresta, poiché manca nel ms il foglio che segue

5 Accertato dunque per *viyāpān* il significato di 'traviato, ingannato', da una parte e 'smarrito', 'dissennato', 'fuor di senno' dall'altro, c'è da chiedersi qual'è l'origine della parola Contro Nyberg, *Hilfsb* II, 247, Henning, *GGA* 1935, 10 giustamente osserva che una derivazione da *vi+āp-* è da escludere per ragioni di significato Egli riporta *viyāpān* ad av *vīvāpa-* e spiega a ragione la rispondenza di *v - y* in posizione intervocalica come fatto dialettale su cui gia Tedesco *MO* 15,197 e ora Schaeder, *UJ* XV, 569 sgg

Av *vīvāpa-* (*Y* 12,2,3) significa 'distruzione' (Bthl, *Altir Wb* 1452) ed è sinonimo di *zyānay-* 'danneggiamento'. Bartholomae fa derivare la forma da *vi-vap-* 'gettare a traverso, confondere' (v. pure s. *vap-*) Quanto al significato di 'ingannare' che ne è derivato è ovvio, a me pare, il raccostamento al gr διαβάλλω che da 'gettare attraverso' ha dato il significato traslato di 'confondere, ingannare' donde διάβολος 'l'ingannatore'.

Anche *viyāpān* è termine esclusivo della tradizione zoroastriana che si riflette nei libri pahlavici Alla sua scarsa vitalità ha certo contribuito la sua omofonia con

viyāpān deserto[1] Pa *viyāpān* Andreas-Barr 127 (con δ per *y*).

III

3 *dēpahr* collera

1 Nella traduzione pahlavica dei Salmi ricorrono con il significato di ira due forme *dypsny* 95 11 e *dypsty* 123 3 In Andreas-Barr 38 si fa giustamente richiamo a mp T N *dybhr* T II D 178 1v 3a (Lentz *Stellung Jesu* 112) a cui è ora da aggiungere T II D II 131 (b) 7 M 6 (c) 85 Andreas-Henning 3 51

2 La forma partica è certamente da riconoscere in che appare in *AZ* 11-12 *hakar smāk bayān sahet sozran i xves ruvān baret pat xvarrah i ōhrmazd bay u dēn i mazdesnān u gyān [i] zarer i brāt sōkand xvaret*[2] *ku t nē zanom u nē ōzanom u nē-c pat dēpahr dārēm tāk gōβeh cē bavet andar ān razm i vistāspān. pas gōβet vistāspšāh ku pat xvarrah i ōhrmazd u dēn i mazdēsnān u gyān [i] zarer (i) brāt sōkand xvarom ku t nē zanom u nē ōzanom u nē-c pat dēpahr dārom.* "Se piace a Vostra Maestà la propria parola porti l'anima per lo splendore del Dio Ohrmazd e per la religione mazdaica e per la vita del fratello Zarēr giurate che non mi batterete non mi ucciderete non mi avrete in ira poiché dirò ciò che avverrà in questa battaglia vistaspiana Allora dice re Vištāsp Per lo splendore di Ohrmazd e la religione mazdaica e la vita del fratello Zarēr giuro che non ti batterò, non ti ucciderò e non ti terrò in ira.

3 Di fronte a questa sicura lettura di [3] che coincide perfettamente con la forma m p.T.N cadono i prece-

1. Mp. *viyāpān* 'deserto' np *biyābān*, è da riportare sicuramente ad ir. *vi-āp-* senz'acqua av. *vi-āpa-* 'senz'acqua' che è il più senz'acqua Bartholomae *AIr Wb.* 1435 sg. Il riaccostamento di Horn, *GrNpEt.* 67 v pure Bthl. l. c., a av. *vi-ap-* non ha fondamento

2. Segue una formula magica di giuramento piuttosto oscura Cfr Pagliaro, *Il testo pahl. AZ.*, p. 22.

3. La lettura che si offre come la più ovvia per è *spihr* cielo e destino *GrBd.* 166.11 12 (dove) *IT* 95.8 In *HAH.* 15 il testo è troppo corrotto per potere in alcun modo giudicare dal complesso che vi ricorre.

denti tentativi avanzati da Salemann in *Bull Ac St Petersb* 1912, 145 (*spaxi* vale non 'teuschung' [sic], 'vorspiegelung' bensì 'festa')[1] e da me stesso in *RSO* 15,288 sgg La forma *dēpahr* è da aggiungere alle caratteristiche dialettali di origine partica che il testo dell'*AZ* presenta, cfr Pagliaro, *Il testo pahl AZ* in *Rend Acc Lincei*, Serie VI, Vol I, 552 sgg (estr, 3 sgg)

4 Per quanto riguarda l'etimologia di part *dēpahi* e pers *dypšn* e *dypst* è ovvio pensare al verbo *dēp-*[2] 'ingannare' risultato dall'incrocio fra *dab-ya-* 'ingannare' m p T *vdyb* 'inganno' e *rēp* in *frēftan* 'ingannare', Horn, *Neupers Et* 829[3], per il suffisso cfr m p T *žīvahi* 'vita', Bartholomae, *ZAir Wb* 52 no e m p L *žīvišn* 'vita', *žīvist*, forma infinitiva su cui Bartholomae, *WZKM* 29,36

5 Il significato di 'inganno' non collima precisamente Pare evidente che *dēpahi* significhi propriamente un 'risentimento' o 'odio', che cova un 'inganno' A questo proposito, si può ricordare che nelle *gāthā* si ha una forma *dvafsa-* a cui Bartholomae da il significato generico di 'Qual, Pein', ma che, associato con *ąsta-* 'odio, inimicizia' (*J.* 44 14) fa pensare ad un significato analogo a quello di *dēpahi*, la traduzione pahlavī è (Bthl, *Altir Wb* 764, *ān i ōšān frēft bovand i ōhrmazd* "quelli sono ingannati da Ohrmazd" e come spiegazione aggiunge *pas dānēnd ku frēft ēstēm* "poi si accorgono siamo stati ingannati"

1 La parola *spaγr* ricorre in m p T *spaγr* M 2 (Salemann, l c.) e in m p L *DkM* 554 18 sgg *apāk afsōskar mart spaγr nē kunišn hamχvarān nē bovišn čē bāstān ō šarm rasēt kē apāk afsōskar mart spaγr kunēt ayāp [ham] χvarān bovēt* "Con un uomo motteggiatore non è da far festa né da tenere banchetto insieme. Difatti sempre finisce male chi fa festa con un motteggiatore o è suo commensale."

2 Pa *vydyftl'n* Andreas Barr, 39 v pure Schaeder, *U J* 15,577, *DkM* 38 1 sg *vidēftak zan vidēftak apurnāyik* " ingannata la donna, ingannato il minore "

3 È probabile, ma non è sicuro, dato l'incontro grafico con *sačēt* che un denominativo *dēpēt* debba riconoscersi in *DkM* 38 21 sg *apāk ān i dēpēt i hač kar ōstārih u ...ynkarih i martom* "con colui che inganna per ostilità e odio contro gli uomini" Tutto il passo, in cui l'identico complesso grafico ricorre ancora, non è molto chiaro

Per l'etimologia di *drafša* si può pensare ad un composto *d(a)ray-(a)sa* che mira all'inganno, in cui il primo elemento è da riportare a ir. *dab-* ingannare, cfr. av. *abavay-* che non inganna, e il secondo deriva da *(s)pas-* spiare, guardare a, cfr. av. *pasna* Hinsehen auf, Bthl. *AltIr. Wb.* 885.

Non è da escludere che in *depahr dypsn dypst* ci si trovi di fronte allo stesso composto. Occorrerà partire direttamente da *d(a)ray-pasra*, *d(a)ray-pasna*, *d(a)ray-past*. In tal caso le tre forme rifletterebbero un suffisso diverso e non una diversità dialettale.

IV

4 ... *hamabden* da *ham-abren* della stessa specie, analogo e di ogni specie, tutto

1. La parola ...[1] scritta pure ... ... ricorre frequentemente nel pahlavi dei libri e viene generalmente letta *hamāgen* (Salemann, *GrIrPh.* I, a, 280, 293 sg.), *hamegēn* (Junker, *Frp.* 93) e infine *hamēken* (Nyberg, *Hilfsb.* II, 97). Il significato generalmente attribuito è quello di tutto.

2. Non è stato sinora notato come il medesimo complesso grafico esprima nella tradizione del *Kn.* una parola di significato diverso, e cioè *hamabdēn*, risultata da metatesi consonantica dal più frequente *hamadren* della stessa indole.

3. *Hamadrēn* nella grafia rispondente alla forma originaria, cioè ..., è documentata più volte nel *MhD* e altrove. *MhD* 30, 1 sg. *ka mart kē ō kas tōxšišn dahišn hamadrēn xvāstak i xvēš rād kart ku nēm tāk 10 sāl ō farroxv xvēš*

1. La grafia ... è la più frequente ed è irregolare. Evidentemente, nella tradizione degli scribi il complesso grafico ... era stilizzato tanto da farlo apparire come ideogramma, esso difatti appare in *FrP.* 25. 5 e come uzvārišn gli viene dato .... Tale grafia deriva da ... che a sua volta, o rende la forma con vṛddhi (*hām*), oppure, come è più probabile, è una semplice scriptio plena in posizione iniziale. Cfr. ... *hamvār* sempre, *GrBd.* 178, 5, ... *Kn.* 8, ... *hamarzān* dignitari, *AZ.* 2, contro ... ib. 1, ... *ham* stesso, *GrBd.* 169, 10, *pat ham* e *p* nella terza nota accanto a ... West, *Gloss.* e *Index* 29. Per quanto riguarda la presenza nella grafia della vocale iniziale del secondo elemento del composto (*a* breve), non v'è difficoltà.

"Se un uomo il quale in misura corrispondente al pagamento o dono che deve fare ad uno, per una cosa di sua proprietà così stabilisce · la metà fra 10 anni apparterrà a Farroχv .."

Mhd 35 9 sgg *ka kart ku hac bar u va/t i haċ χvāstak māh fravartin pat ruvān farroχv ē u māh tīr pat ruvān i mihryōn ēn yazišn u har sāl pat ān rōc ka frazām bovēt yazišn ċand šāyēt ē kunišn ka vaχt tāk nē bovēt ċand ān yazišn hamaδvēn haċaš kartan šāyēt* "Se è stabilito dal frutto e incremento di questa cosa è da fare questo servizio funebre il mese Fravartīn per l'anima di Farroχv e il mese Tīr per l'anima di Mihryōn ogni anno quando scade quel giorno tanto servizio bisogna fare, per quanto è possibile Se il reddito non è sufficiente, è lecito fare il servizio in misura corrispondente"

MhD 53 4 sgg *hambāy kē χvāstak +nisāy*[1] *i pitarān vičārišn hamaδvēn yut haċ χvāstārīh bē vičārt gōhar(i)kān haċ hambāyān apāč χvāst pātixšāy* "Un socio il quale una somma, in misura corrispondente[2] al tributo patrimoniale da pagare, paga senza il consenso (dei soci), ha diritto di chiedere il rimborso ai soci"

MhD.A 23 1 sgg *ka gōβēt ku tāk rētak apurnāy ēn ċiš ō tō dahom yuttar bovēt ċiyōn ka gōβēt ku tāk rētak purnāy bovēt ēn ċiš ō tō dahom ċē ka gōβēt ku tāk rētak apurnāy ēn ċiš ō tō dahom aδak-aš pat gyāk bē dahišn u-š hangām tāk rētak purnāy bovēt χvēš u-š pas nē χvēš u ka gōβēt ku tāk rētak purnāy bovēt ō tō dahhm aδak-aš pēš haċ purnāyīh i rētak bē dahišn haċ-aš hamaδvēn χvēš* "Se uno dice fintanto che il ragazzo e minore io ti dono questa cosa, diverso è se uno dice finché il ragazzo non sia maggiore io ti dò questa cosa Infatti se egli dice io ti dò

1 Leggo *nisāy* 'tributo' cfr *Kn.* 198 (*nisāy u bāž* 'donativo e tributo') e *Vič-i-čatr* 15, *MhD* 93 10 (da *ni sāy-* 'deporre')

2 Sarebbe possibile *hamaδvēn* come 'intiero', 'tutto' (v sotto) "l'intiera somma da pagare come tributo patrimoniale", ma è più probabile il significato di 'corrispondente' Bulsara, 318 giustamente 'accordingly' Il testo della traduzione è difforme

questa cosa fintanto che il ragazzo è minore allora la cosa è da dare subito e per il tempo sino a che il ragazzo non sia maggiore è proprietà di quello ma dopo non lo è, e se dice di dare la cosa intanto che il ragazzo diventi maggiore allora la cosa è dare prima della maggiore età ed è proprietà di quello in misura conforme". Bartholomae *zSR* 2 20 legge *u s hamerēn*[1] *zres* ma la sua interpretazione non è esatta.

MhDA 30 10 sgg *ka sōi u zan pat e yūrar hac mart I āpām stānend ān mart ān āpām hamaδven hac zan zrāst turān u pat rāδenišn i dātistān dastoβarih i šōi andar nē apāyet* "Se il marito e la moglie ad un tempo prendono un prestito presso un uomo, questi può richiedere il prestito in eguale maniera dalla donna e per l'inizio del giudizio la delega del marito non è necessaria" v Bartholomae *zSR* 1 25 sg

GrBd. 107 16-108.1 sgg *ka ōhrmazd en 6 hamahraspand frāc āfrit zrat ic apāk ōšān ān i pahlom 7om būt adak pursit hac ōšān ku amāk kē āfrit hem u sān ērak-ic pasoxv nē kart yūrar i ditikar u sitikar hamaδvenak pursit pas artrahist guft ku mān tō āfrit hem ōšan ic pat hamdā tistānih*[2] *hamaδvenak guft* "Quando Ōhrmazd ebbe creato i sei arcangeli ed egli stesso con essi come primo fu il settimo, allora domandò ad essi Chi ci ha creato? Nessuno di essi dava risposta. Una seconda e una terza volta interrogò alla stessa maniera, quindi Artavahist disse Tu ci hai creato. Da quelli di accordo fu risposto alla stessa maniera"

4 Indubbiamente è la stessa parola quella che appare alcune volte scritta ... ed è sempre stata confusa con il presunto *hamogen*, tutto di eguale grafia. Da leggere è certamente *hamaδδēn* con richiamo a arm *hamaurēn* 'tutto Cfr Andreas Barr *Ps* 41

1. Sulla lettura *ham* ... v Bibl., WZKM. 27 364 no. 2 contro la lettura ... del secondo elemento del composto v Nyberg II 8

2. MB. ... corr ... ster ... = *dātistān* cfr *GrBd* 9. 11 *MhD* 60. 2, *Kn* 178

Kn 9-10 *χvamn-vičārān*[1] *guft ku ān kē ēn χvap pat-iš dīt ō ayōp hač frazandān i ān mart kas i ō pātiχšāyīh i gēhān rasēt ēč χvaršēt u pīl i spēt i ārāstak varžīh u tovānīgīh [u] pērōzīh u ātur farnbaγ dēn dānākīh u mas-martān u moγ-martān u ātur gušnasp artēštār[ān] u spāhpatān u ātur burzēnmihr vāstryošān u varz-kartārān i gēhān hamaδvēn ēn pātiχšāyīh ō ān mart ayōp frazandān i ān mart rasēt* "Gli interpreti dei sogni dissero l'uomo che ha avuto questi sogni o uno dei figli di quest'uomo arriverà alla signoria del mondo Difatti il sole o l'elefante bianco adorno significano valore potenza e vittoria, il fuoco Farnbaγ sapienza religiosa, grandi uomini e sacerdoti, il fuoco Gušnasp guerrieri e generali, il fuoco Burzēnmihr operai e contadini Questa signoria perverrà a quell'uomo o a uno dei suoi figli"

Nyberg (v II, 97) ha letto *hamōkēn* e lo ha riferito al seguente *ēn pātiχšāyīh* Ma con ciò manca completamente il predicato di tutta la proposizione precedente La nostra lettura *hamaδvēn* 'della stessa natura' (cioè 'sono della stessa natura', poiché il verbo ausiliare è sottinteso) complete la frase pienamente la realtà e i simboli che la significano sono della stessa natura

Kn. 22 *pat yazdān aδyārīh pat čōpakān u asbārīh čatrang u nēβartaχšēr u aparīh frahang hač ōšān hamaδvēn čēr u vartak būt* "Col favore di Dio nel giuoco della palla, nell' equitazione, negli scacchi e negli altri esercizi divento valente e destro al pari di costoro" Se si intende 'tutti' riferito ad *ōšān* (così Nyberg, II, 97), sorge il problema perchè *čēr* e *vartak* non siano in forma di comparativo Cfr difatti l'analoga frase a § 164 *hač ham° žanān vēh u frāčtar būt* "Di tutte le donne divento la più brava e più progredita" Sulla lettura di [illegible] *ham°* anche nel senso di "tutto" v sotto § 7

1 Così da leggere, non *χumr* (Nyberg II, 42) cfr *Ps* *'huwmy* 'senza sonno' av *aχvafna-*, Andreas-Barr, 81, cfr lat *somnium* da *sop*

Kn 146 *artaxšēr ka š pat ān aδvēnak dit bē mānd u š dil-sōcak būt u asp apāc vašt u handēšit ku vāy ō martom bavīt ka-c apāk adānih u agōβākih (i) ēn cahārpāδ gung pas mihr ēvak ō dit ētōn aβaspurit ku vaxš¹ xvēš zan fra and rāδ apaspāret hamaδven hacaš [ān zan u] ān fra and v-š andar aškamb dāšt aβyāt būt u pat pušt [i] asp ētōn ciyōn ēstāt pat buland vāng be grist* Ardashir quando vide ciò, si arrestò, e il cuore gli bruciava. Volto indietro il cavallo rifletteva fra sé "Guai agli uomini se questi quadrupedi muti con tutta la loro mancanza di ragione e di favella, sono così affezionati l'un l'altro che danno la vita per la loro femmina e per i figli" Per analogia di ciò si ricordò della donna e del suo figliuolo da lei tenuto nel grembo e a cavallo così com'era si mise a piangere forte" La formula *hamaβδen hac-aš* è identica a quella di *MhD* 85 12 sgg *hamaδvenak hac-aš* e *MhD A* 23 sgg *hac-aš hamaδven*

5 Nel caso di *hamaδven* scritto sempre [Pahlavi] e di *hamaβδen* che ne è derivato ([Pahlavi] o [Pahlavi]) ci troviamo di fronte a un composto il cui primo elemento è *hama-* stesso

Nello stesso complesso grafico [Pahlavi] scritto pure [Pahlavi] che serve a indicare tutto ci troviamo di fronte a un composto in cui il primo elemento è *hama* 'tutto Difatti la forma conservata in *Ps* 118 128 129 *h m δ w y n* ha il significato di tutto e poiché il secondo elemento è *aδvēn* 'specie' 'sorta il complesso dove significare di tutte le specie di ogni sorta quindi al plur 'tutti La forma armena *hamauren* da *hamaβδen* ha la medesima formazione.

Date queste forme mp. Ps. *hamaδvēn* 'tutto e arm. *hamauren* che presuppone *hamaβδēn* dato pure che l'omonimo *hamaδvēn* della stessa specie appare in pahlavi come *hamaβδēn* sia pure limitatamente al *Kn.* per quanto a me risulta e è da domandarsi se anche nella forma [Pahlavi] 'tutto non

1. *Vaxš* 'spirito *GrBd.* 186 11 (dove si parla delle incarnazioni del Buddha nel Bodhisattva) 190. 15 mp. T. *vxš* Salemann, *MSt.* 71 Jackson, *Res.* 291 sg. *vxšyk* spirituale Henning, *Man. Bet. u. Beichtb.* 136.

sia pure da riconoscere una forma con metatesi generalizzata *hamaβδēn* con il significato 'di tutte le specie' al plur 'tutti'

6 Le letture proposte per ‹pahlavi›, ‹pahlavi› (v § 1) presentano tutte notevole difficoltà La lettura di Salemann *hamōgīn* (*GiIrPh* 1 a, 294) è fondata sul riferimento a n p *hamginān* che è invece formazione neopersiana con il suffisso *-gīn*, *-agīn* su cui Horn, *GiIrPh* 1 b, 178 sg Per il mp ci si aspetterebbe comunque *hamakēn*

Nyberg (*Hilfsb* II, 97) considera come particolarità grafica *g* per *k* e legge *hamōkīn* 'tutto'. Epperò la parola *hamōk* da cui egli parte è di assai dubbia esistenza Essa ricorrerebbe, secondo Nyberg, in *GrBd* 18 11 sg *bālāδ i-s zahyāδ* ‹pahlavi› *handāč* "la sua altezza è di pari misura alla sua profondità", analogamente in *GrBd* 19 11 ‹pahlavi› *drāhnāδ apāk pahnāδ* "la lunghezza pari con la larghezza' Anzitutto è da osservare che il valore è qui di 'eguale' 'pari e non di 'tutto' Inoltre è più che probabile che ‹pahlavi› (dove sorprenderebbe la grafia *g* per *k*, cfr pahlavī ‹pahlavi› *āmōk* 'insegnamento', *PT* 75 6, cfr *WZKM* 27,354), altro non è se non il frequente *ham-tāk* 'pari' in cui il secondo elemento *tāk* è scritto con l'ideogramma di *tāk* 'fino a' Questo uso dell'ideogramma della preposizione per indicare gli omofoni sostantivi *tāk* 'tratto', *tāk* 'ramo' è abbastanza documentato, oltre Nyberg II, 219 si veda *AZ* 48 Per *hamtāk* 'pari' cfr *Zīmuzi* 3 *u-š brāt bovēt u hamtāk u-š dōst bovēt hamgyān u hamtan* 'e gli diventa fratello e pari e gli diventa amico e della stessa anima e dello stesso corpo', *DkM* 505,7, *Mz* 2 4-5 (Nyberg II, 97), cfr *ē tāk* 'in complesso' *Vič čatī* 22, *ēvtāk* 'solo, in un solo tratto' *PT* 77 4, *AVn* 46 7, *Zsp* 4 3, *GrBd* 89.11

7 Eliminata l'ipotetica forma *hamōk*, cade il suo derivato *hamōgēn* e l'ipotesi che sia da leggere *hamaβδēn* si rivela come la più ovvio[1] Accanto ad un *ham-aβδēn* corrispondente ad *hamasvēn* 'della stessa specie' si è affermato un

1 La forma mp T *h m g y n* su cui Salemann, *MSt* 81, *hāmagēn* he valore di 'pieno', 'eguale', v pure Jackson, *Res* 49 sg

omofono *ham aβδen* di ogni specie quindi tutto' Che nel pahlavi dei libri si sia affermato nel senso di tutto la forma *ham-aβδēn* e non la forma *ham aδven* è spiegabile con la necessità di mantenere distinte le due parole formalmente identiche ma di significato diverso

8. Nyberg *Hilfsb* II 8 ritiene sia necessario mantenere distinte *aδvēnak* derivato da **adi vaina-* e arm. *aurēn k* legge *aurinak* maniera che presuppongono **aβden* da **ā-pi-δayana-* (*dāy-* vedere mp *ditan*) Ora la forma *aβδēn* è effettivamente documentata in mp. T ed è forma partica *'to dyn* (*ā* iniziale è secondario forse influenza di *ā* + *dānaya* mp T *'dynay* specchio') È ovvio che insieme con Henning *BSOS* 9 79 si pensi per prima cosa a derivazione per metatesi consonantica da *aδven*

9 La presenza della forma *hamaβδen* in testi pahlavici come il *Kn.* non esclude certo che possa trattarsi di un termine di origine settentrionale Nel *Kn.* difatti, la parola ricorre prevalentemente in formula fissa con *spāh* ('tutto quanto l esercito') 66, 81, 85, 87 91 98 con *hēr u xvāstak* ('tutte quante le ricchezze e i beni) 69 78 82 89 109 e infine con *martom* (tutti quanti gli uomini) 88 98 e *zanān* ('tutte quante le donne') 104

10 In *Kn* 127 si ha un uso avverbiale in maniera completa, completamente che conferma l origine etimologica cui si è sopra accennato *u ān i 2 vatbaxt brātarān i tō kē en mihr-druz pat band zēndān pat pātifrās dāret kē mark pat āyāft hamē xvāhand u t hamaβδēn hac daxšak bē hišt* 'E i due sciagurati tuoi fratelli che questo traditore tiene per pena in ceppi e prigionia e la invocano sempre in aiuto tu li hai completamente abbandonati"

11. Altrove si è in dubbio se si tratti di *hamaβδēn* di ogni specie tutto o di *hamaβδēn* 'nella stessa maniera Propendo a credere che nei due passi seguenti si abbia il secondo significato *Kn* 102 *artaxšēr ēnn u kēn rāδ gyāl ō mihrak šut u hamaβδēn frazandān i mihrak framūt*

žatan ōžat "Ardashīr per la rabbia e l'ira andò subito da Mihrak e al modo che gli ordinò di uccidere i figli di Mihrak furono uccisi" *Kn* 196-197 *spāsdārīh andar yazdān hangārīt u-š guft ku humānāk i ēn ān ast i kēt*[1] *i hinduk guft. pas hač ān ka Ohrmazd ō xvatāyīh rasīt hamaβδēn ērān šahr apāč ō ēvxvatāyīh tuvānist āβurtan* "Rese grazie a Dio e disse 'Ciò è in conformità di quel che disse l'indovino indiano Quando Hormizd salì sul trono, conformemente fu possibile a lui di ricondurre a unità il regno iranico" Dal riferire *hamaβdēn* a *ērān šahr* sconsiglia il fatto che nei § 155, 157, 158 dove una frase analoga ricorre *hamaβdēn* manca Invece qui *hamaβδēn* sembra appunto indicare che, analogamente alla precedente conferma della veracità delle previsioni dell'indovino indiano, veniva parimente ad attuarsi quello che egli aveva previsto

12 Riassumendo, [illegible] è da leggersi contrariamente a quanto si è fatto sinora sempre *hamaβδēn* ed è ad esso da attribuire il duplice significato di 'alla stessa maniera,' 'analogo,' 'di tutte le maniere,' 'tutto quanto' a seconda che il primo elemento del composto sia *hama-* 'stesso' o *hama-* 'tutto' L'uso ne è a volte aggettivale, a volte avverbiale Probabile è, di contro ad *aδvēn* l'origine partica di *aβδēn,* comunque, questa di fronte a quella si spiega con un semplice fatto di metatesi

Regia Università di Roma

---

1 *Kēt* 'astrologo', Henning, *BSOS*, 9 91 sg

NOTES ON PAHLAVI LEXICOGRAPHY

Translated from the Italian of PROF A PAGLIARO

BY J M UNVALA *Ph.D*

1 ... *hac hamis* together with" 2. ... ad insaniam aliquem adigere, *i.e* to drive one to madness" 3 ... *depahr* "anger" 4 ... *hamaβδēn* from *hamaδrēn* "of the same nature" 'analogous" of every species" whole all"

I

... *hac hamis* together with"

1 In *Bd* 11 13 sq we read *10 roc sapān menūkān yā dān apāk ganāk*[1] *mēnūk* [u] *hamist*[2] *dērān ō gētīh hamkōšišn būt hand* For forty days and nights the spiritual Yazatas continued the material struggle with the evil spirit and demons" In the corresponding passage of the *GrBd* 45 10 sq the word *hamist* is rendered by the ideogram ...

On the basis of this agreement which occurs many times in the two redactions of the *Bundahišn* and on the basis of the Pāzand reading ... which occurs in *Šr* 4 76 89 16 8, 96, Bartholomae *zSR* 3 33 sq (where references to other passages are given) has retained the reading *hamist* for the ideogram ...

2. In the Pahlavi *Frahang* edited by Salemann, *PHds* 87 l. 6 sq ... *i e hamē* is given as its corresponding word, thus also in the ms M 25 Bthl. *ZHss* *53 l. 23 and note 3 (see below § 12) Nyberg *Hilfsb.* II 94 reads *hamē* "together"[3] (cf also *MO* 17 203) and thinks that in the phrase *GrBd* 45. 11 *ganāk mēnūk u ... dērān* it is to be read

1 Cf. Bailey *BSOS* 7 755 seq

2 Written ...

3 The ideogram is explained by Nyberg as *lḥdh khadā* together"

hamē, obl case of *ham* "all", the use of the ideogram might have been due to an exchange between *hamē* "all" and *hamē* "together" Schaeder, *Ir Beitr*. I, 232, n 2, agrees with Nyberg and reads, *hamī*

3 Bartholomae, l c 31, has gathered a good number of passages, in which ومسم is connected with ـے It follows from this that its signification is "together with" The examples are taken mostly from the *MhD*, two from the *Kn*, besides several other less clear from the *Dk*. The meaning fixed by us seems to be beyond doubt.

4 *H m y s* occurs in the Turfan texts 170 r, 12, 19, 472 v, 10 with the same meaning and the same construction with *az* (v Salemann *MSt* 84 who takes it in the sense of 'getrennt,' ("separated"? see below) The same without *az* in 4 d, 9, in *Mahr n* 221 where Muller, *Doppelbl* 17 takes it for *hamīs* 'zusammen', "together", in S 9, c 32 where Jackson, *Res* 82, takes it to be an adjective *sāiān h myys* "the years combined with" (*i e*, "the years which are parts of the time of the big conflict), in M 28 R II 25, *hmys*, Andreas-Henning II, 24 and 56, 'zusammen mit,' "together with" Further cf Tedesco, *MO* 15 198 (*hamis* 'mit', "with") and Henning, *GGA* 1935, 15 sq

5 Henning, *Man Bet -u Beichtbc*, 111 has a *h m y r* which occurs in the text, in r 389, and which is taken to mean 'zusammen, im ganzen', "together, wholly" Henning advances the hypothesis that *hamīr* from *hamihr* is the Pahlavī form corresponding to the Pārsīk *hmys*, and that both are derived from Anc-Pers *ham(m)iϑr(iy)a-* (or from **hamisia-* Anc Ind *sammiśra-* in *GGA* l c)[1]

Now Salemann, l c, and Tedesco, l. c, have mentioned the form Mid-Pers T S *hamis* from Anc-Pers *hamiçiya-*

1. Henning, from whose notice Bartholomae, *zSR* 3 33 sq, has escaped, does not take into account *hamust* which renders the ideogram in Pahlavī books On the contrary, Bartholomae did not reckon with *hmys* of the Turfan texts

"insurgent" the former seeks in it also a relationship with the meaning (and therefore takes it in the sense of getrennt, separated") the latter considers the difference in the meaning to be a problem.

6 To sum up the Turfan texts give N *hamir* S. *hamis* as evidently corresponding to the ideogram Mid. Pers. B ہمیں The correspondence is such in the meaning as well as in the form that it should be accepted infallibly, especially if it comes to prove the derivation of the forms from the Anc. Pers. *hamiçiya* and to retrace given that the phonetical derivation is undoubted the passages of the meaning which have led from that of 'insurgent of the Anc. Pers to the different meanings of the Mid. Pers. forms

7 The correct etymology of the Anc. Pers *hamiçiya* has been given by Benveniste in Meillet *Grammaire du Vieux perse* 2nd ed., 158 from *ha-mi0r iya* (i e., 'he who participates in an agreement cf Lat. *coniurātus* Gr συνθετος) From this meaning that of "insurgent" "independent" is developed which occurs so frequently in the Inscriptions of Bisutūn. Here it is a masculine and feminine adjective constructed with the genitive of the person or with *hacā* and the ablative B.I. 11 *pasāva kāra haruva hamiçiya abava haca ka(n)bujiyā abiy avam [a]šiyava utā pārsa utā māda utā aniyā dahyāva* In consequence, the army became wholly insurgent to Cambyses and passed over to him Persia and Media, and all the provinces as well , B.I 21 *imā dahyāva tyā hacāma hamiçiyā abava* These regions which rebelled against me " etc.

There can be no doubt that the expressions *hac hamis* which occurs in Mid. Pers T S and ہمیں s of Mid. Pers. B. as well which latter after what has been said above, should be read only *hac hamis* are the direct derivatives of this Anc. Pers expression But how can we explain the passage of the meaning from the Anc. Pers to the Mid Pers. together with i e of an expression with the prepositional sense ?

8. It seems to me that such a change in the meaning is due to very obvious semantic development, which has led the sense of the meaning from "conspirator" and "insurgent" to "autonomous" and "independent" We could best render the passages of the Inscriptions of Bisutūn already quoted, by "in consequence, the army made itself independent of Cambyses", and "the regions which had made themselves independent of me" The ulterior development of the meaning is due to the passage from, let say, real sway to a logical sway, and from an adjectival to an adverbial sense, *hač. hamis* means "independent of", "without taking into account", "besides..."[1] This new meaning is evident from two passages of the *Kn*.

Kn (ed Noshervān) 72 *artaχšīr hač spāh i χvēš viyāpān bē būt u andar šap ō viyāpān*[2] *1 mat kē-š nē āp [u] χvarišn nē būt χvat* ... *asbārān u stōrān* ... *ō gursakīh u tišnakīh mat* "Ardashir strayed away from his army and came to a desert at night where there was neither water nor anything to eat, and he himeslf, besides horsemen and beasts, was given over to hunger and thirst'

Kn 134 *ētōn gōβand ku varčāvand ātur i farnbaγ i pērōčkar ētōn čiγōn χrōh 1 i suχr andar parrit u parr ō pist žat u ān yām* ... *pist* ... *hač dast i artaχšīr ō zamīk ōpast* 'It is related that the splendid victorious fire Farnbaγ, like a red cock, flew inside and beat the wing on the flour, and the vessel besides the flour fell on the earth'

It is clear that taking *hač . hamis* in these passages to mean "besides", the meaning of the phrase becomes more evident The use of *χvat* "he himself" (besides horsemen and horses who were with him) in the first passage becomes clear, and in the second it is explained that in consequence

1 A similar change of meaning, due to the passage from the real sphere to the suggestive sphere is not lacking of the use of *ultro* in Latin, which originally meant "besides" "in addition", and has now come to mean, "without reason", and finally "spontaneously", "willingly"

2 On *viyāpān* "barren desert", see below p 185, note 1

of the stroke of the wing of the red cock which impersonated the fire Farnbay on the floor not only the floor but also the vessel came to be smashed on the ground

9 In the passages of the *MhD* also the meaning besides thoroughly suits the expression *hac hamis* *MhD* 18. 10 sq *ka gōβēt ku m ōn dastkart* + *hac har ces andar hamis ō tō* [*dāt*] If one says this farm besides that which is in it, is given to thee "

MhD 9 5 sq *pēsēmār xvāstak i s hac pasēmār bē grift hac bar i s burt hamis pat tāvānihā-c ō pasēmār dahisn.* "The defendant should restore to the plaintiff the thing taken away (by him) besides the advantages which had accrued from it by way of reparation cf Bthl *SRb.* 24 sq (where he likes to substitute *apāk* "with for *hac*)

MhD 16 1 sq *ka tōzisn i pitar xvāhand zan i pat dūtak i pit u ān-ic i pat dūtak i pus hac sardār hamis hamēmār kunisn.* If the payment of the debt of a (deceased) father is demanded the wife for the family of the father and that (of the son) for the family of the son besides the trustee, are to be called in the Court of Justice It deals just as Bthl. has seen cf. *sSR* 3, 36, with the case in which the son who had come into the place of the deceased father also dies and then besides the trustee, the wife of the father as well as that of the son are called upon to answer for the paternal debt. Bulsara *The Laws of Ancient Iran* 180 has understood the phrase differently

10 But the passage of the meaning from besides to together with" when it treats of a thing which is normally joined with another is an obvious passage *MhD* 28. 13 *ka kunēt ku-m ēn ātaxš hac xvāstak hamis nēm pat sardārih ō tō dāt sardārih xup u s ān nēm pat patvand bē ravēt* "If one establishes (this) of this fire together with the sum (destined for it) half is entrusted to thy guardianship the decree is good, and the other half goes to the relatives"

MhD 86 2· *mart ..enak i pat tānak u katas u rāstak i-š hac ān mart hamis rēs* 'A man the expense for a house, a canal, a property which he possesses together with another man (originally "besides another man")

I do not maintain that there are other examples to explain this obvious passage of the meaning This has resulted from the return of the notion expressed by the logical sphere to the real, on which we should abstain from insisting, because it has a subordinate position in respect of the principal thing with which it is normally joined, it seems, in its aspect of the union with the principal thing

11 This notion of close connection with a principal thing appears in the adjectival form, which is *hamys* in the Turfan texts, whereas in the Pahlavi books it appears with the ideogram ܟܘܠ or it is rendered by *hamist* The original meaning is certainly not that of "all , but rather that which Jackson (see above) has rendered by "combined with' and which can be translated into Italian by 'relative-ones [1] In the passage of the *Bd* 11 13, mentioned in the beginning (*G*, *Bd* 45 10), the meaning of *ganāk mēnūk u hamist dēv* is precisely "the evil spirit and the relative demons". Such a meaning is to be attributed to other passages in which the expression occurs Cf *G* *Bd* 17 13, where the conjunction *u* is regularly marked

Let us throw a glance at some passages from those mentioned by Bartholomae l c , which would appear at the first sight contrary to this interpretation *DkM* 229 15 *amark cīgōn gayōmart pēš hac dusmēnīkīh būt u hamist martom pat tan i pasīn bovēt* " Immortal just as Gayōmart was before the inimical action and the relative humanity at the

1 The adjectival meaning of *hamist*, just as we have shown, suits all cases in which the word occurs, whereas such is not the case with the meaning "together with", "at the same time" (thus Henning *GGA* 9 16) Evidently, the prepositional sense is only met with in the construction with *hac* For the reading *hamist*, instead of *hamis*, see below

resurrection" Evidently here is an allusion to the fact that humanity (*mart-tōxm* the seed of men') is born according to Iranian cosmogonical tradition from the seed of Gayōmart (Christensen *Le premier homme* I. p 9 sq)

The same meaning of bound with "relative" is to be seen in the passage *Šn.* 16, 8 sq., which in the Pahlavī transcription of Bartholomae (l. c. p. 39) is as follows *gēθih hamust tankartih i ahriman, hamust tankartil dahišn i ahriman* It means "The material world is the personification of Ahriman, the corporeal creation is relative to Ahriman (is connected with Ahriman)

12 There is a probable confirmation of this meaning in a peculiar Pāzand correspondence [illegible] [illegible] in Antia *Pāz. T* 21 2, 24 8 *ganā mainyō garōist dēva* cf 22 8 24 8 on which see Bthl s *ZendHss.* 54 note Salemann *GrIrPh* 1, a 294.

As Mid Pers *virravist* (Pāz. *garōist*) signifies the faithful the Pāzand redaction reflects evidently an interpretation of *hamist* in the expression *hamist dev* very close to the correct one[1]

13 Now it remains to be seen in what connection stands *hamus* with the Anc. Pers *hamuciya* Iran *ha(m)-miθriya*-stands with *hamust* which is documented either as a Pahlavi or as a Pāzand form (see above)

Above all the fact is to be noted that in the expression [illegible] *hac* *hamus* a corresponding *usvārišn hamist* is not documented In the *Frahang* edited by Salemann (87 1 6 sq, see also *GrIrPh.* 1 a 320 and Bthl *ZendHss* 54 n) [illegible] is rendered by [illegible], by the common *hamē* and perhaps in such a form it is possible to recognise a graphical

---

1 At all events, it is not to be excluded that the Pāzand interpretation is due to an interchange of [illegible] *hamist* and [illegible] *virravist* ([illegible] ideogram of *virr*)

reduction of [illegible], [illegible][1] Further *hamist* is used only in an adjectival position, and this can make us think that here the question is of a formation which reflects an origin different from *hamis*

14 Bartholomae (SB 3, 38) considers that *hamist* in the meaning of "bound" as perf pass part, should be connected with the Gāthik *mąyastra-* i e, *myastra-* 'societas', "society", *Altiran Wb* 1190, but he finds naturally a difficulty when there is the question of the adverbial expression with *hac*

In fact, if the derivation given by Bartholomae were correct, *hamist* should be sometimes documented in connection with *apāk* "with", which, to the best of my knowledge, is not the case[2] This induces us to exclude the proposed derivation and to go back to *hamis*, also to the form *hamist*

15 It seems to me that *hamist* where it occurs, in Pahlavī as well as in Pāzand, is to be considered an artificial innovation explainable in the tradition of Pahlavi as a religious language eradicated from the sources of the living usage, cf. Pagliaro, *Il posto del Pahlavi dei libri nella dialettologia iranica*, in *Atti del III Congresso internazionale dei Linguisti*, p 93 sq

The rather rare ending -s has easily led, when the word was used in an adjectival sense, to a form ending in *-st* (cf *uzdēs* "idol" *uzdist*), so frequent in participial forms

On the contrary, the original form *hamis* documented so securely in the Turfan texts appertains certainly to the more genuine phase of Pahlavi as a south-western Iranian dialect, and is to be recognised in the expression [illegible] = *hac hamis* "together with", then, as regards the adjectival use, if we wish to keep to the *uzvārisn*, it can preserve the

1 See Henning, l.c., 15

2 The same is the objection against Jackson, l c, 120 seq who thinks also of Iranian *ham+myas* "to mix together", combine (in equal proportion) →

reading *hamist* specific innovation as we have said above of the tradition gathered from the Pahlavi of the Books[1]

II

[illegible] *viyāpān kartan* ad insaniam aliquem adigere, to drive one to madness"

1 In *GrBd* 215 9 sq while speaking of the communistic action of Mazdak it is said *andar xvatāy* [*i*] *kavāt ma dak i bāmdātān ō paitākih mat dāt i mazdakih nihāt kavāt frēft* [*u*] *viyāpān kart zan u frazand u xvāstak pat hamih u hambāyih apāyet dāstan framūt den i* +*māzdesnān hac kār dāst* During the reign of Kavādh Mazdak son of Bāmdādh made his appearance He founded Mazdakism deceived and deprived Kavādh of his reasoning power and laid down that women and children and property should be held in common and in society and turned away the Mazdaic religion from (its) practice

The meaning which we have attributed to the expression *viyāpān kart* (for the reading see below) *viz* "deprive one of his reasoning power with reference to Kavādh as the object deserves to be made clear and this will help also to justify the reading and to furnish the elements of the etymology of the word *viyāpān* which does not occur to the best of my knowledge, in the Turfan texts and seems to be an exclusive word of the Zoroastrian linguistic tradition

2 The expression *viyāpān kart* occurs also in *AVn* with the meaning "to seduce "to lead astray" *AVn*. 88. 6 7 *ēn ruvān i ō druvand mart kē-i pat gētīh apārōn-marzisnih kart u-i zan i kasān frēft u viyāpān kart.*[2] "This

1. In A 12. 23. there is a form [illegible] (in only one MS. [illegible]) which is perhaps to be read *hamest* contrary" derived from *hamēstār* enemy (there is the question of the judgment of God) *ka* *varih hamēst apāk dārēt vēs pat sar brinēn.* If there is a contrary evidence, then one should beat (him) very severely on the head

2. West reads *nipāzān* and translate (*Gloss. a. Ind.* 126) "wanting, wishing longing, craving, desirous, solicitous " whence *nipāzān kartan* "to make desirous, to tempt, to seduce

The meaning which the word has elsewhere (see below) excludes every connection with *niyāz* which properly means "need, want "restriction *Pa.* 26. 6 XśmaX

is the soul of the impious man, who had, in earthly life, impure contacts and deceived and seduced the wife of another" A synonym of *viyāpān kartan* is the denominative *viyāpānēnītan* *AVn.* 71 9 [*pat*] *carp-uzvān i zvēš zanān i kasān frēft u viyāpānēnīt*[1] *u hac šoδ yutāk kart.* "With his honeyed-tongue he deceived and seduced wives of others and made them divorce (themselves) from (their) husbands"

3. Elsewhere *viyāpān* serves to express the effects of the perturbing action of the evil spirit *MX* 57 26 *Zartušt pur-xratih*[2] *rāδ vēm u varišn i frārōn nē niyōšit u nē viyāpīhist pat ān viyāpānīh i gazēstak ganāk i druvand frēftak u viyāpān nē būt* "Zarathuštra, with his great knowledge and with his best reason, did not listen to (him) and was not seduced (by him), he was not deceived by the mystifying actions of the accursed lying spirit, and did not lose his head"

AVn 1 3-4 *pas gazēstak ganāk mēnūk i druvand gumān kart i martomān pat ēn dēn rāδ ān gazēstak alaksandar i hrumāyāk i mucrāyīk māndān viyāpānēnīt*[3] *pat garān sizd u nipart u dahīk ō ērān šahr āmatan* "Then the accursed evil spirit, the deceiver, made men doubtful about that faith, and he led astray Alexander the Roman, who was in Egypt, to bring violence, war and destruction on the Iranian kingdom"

GrBd 212 7 sq *andar xvatāy i kai us andar ham hazārak dēvān stahmak būt hand ōsnar ō ōžanišn mat mēnišn*

6 and also "fame", *Kn* 68, *GrBd* 211 15, *niyāzomand* "needy", *DkM* 586 5 The Pāz. has *vīīvā* for *viyāpān* *Niyāzān* with the meaning "enamoured" occurs in *Kn* 32 *u pat iš niyāzān būt* "(the girl) fell in love with him"

1 West *niyāzānīnīdan* "to make desirous, to instigate, to tempt, to seduce" *Gloss a Ind* 226 sq

2 Nyberg, *purr Xratih*, but cfr Pagliaro, *RSO* 11, 179, n 2

3 See n 1 above

c viyāpānēnīt[1] *tāl ō kārēcār i āsmān sut* During the reign of Kai Us, in the same millennium the demons became violent, Osnar was assassinated (Kai Us) was thus led astray in the belief of making war against the heaven"

The meaning of distraction going astray" from the good religion is in *Kn* 98 *gazēstal borāt ganāk mēnāk druvand kē ēn uzdēs i ētōn cir [u] pātyāvand kart estēt ku hamavbēn martom u kustakīhā hac dēn i ōhrmazd u amahraspandān viyāpān kart estand* "May the evil and lying spirit be accursed who has made this idol so strong and tenacious that all men and provinces are (thereby) led astray from the religion of Ohrmazd and the Archangels!"

4 In another place the meaning of *viyāpān* is medial to be bewildered to lose one's way thus *e g.*, in the passage of the *Kn* which we have translated above *Kn* 72 *artaxšer hac spāh i xves viyāpān be būt* Ardušēr lost his way from his army"

Viyāpān is used to show a permanent state of bewilderment and mental disorder in an interesting and little studied treatise *Apar xem u xrat i farroxv mart* published in the *Pahlavi Texts* of Jamasp Asana (Pt. II 162 sq)

Xemu xr 6 *u xirak [u] dānāk*[3] *mart ētōn nevak bovet u stāitak ētōn vēh stāyend pat hamāk gyāk ētōn vēh burzēnd pat hamāk kesvar ciyōn ān draxt 1 i +rasurōmand*[4] *kē tāk*

1. Also Darmesteter *Z A.* II 401 traces the word t viyāp because he means Il lui suggérent la pensée d'aller faire la guerre au ciel *i.e.* he suggested t him the th ught of wagi g war with the hea en On the apparent viyāp which occurs i *Crd.* 4.14 in turn of a kindred phrase (Nyberg l. c. 102), see the just observation of Hen ing, *GGA* 1935, 10 (but it must be not d that Ohrmazd belong t the followi g sentence there is no *dāf* (l the text)

2. Nöldeke B 9 (transl. p. 22 n. 0) traces the word to vy 'need

3. For the integ tion (?) cf. the recurrence f the expression i *HAM* 60 and 91 (*xirak u dānāk*). For *xirak*, see Jackson *Res* 117 sq (and Hubschmann, *Pe s. St* 71).

4 The text is corrupt because th compound s r is separated int t, 41 e and *barōmand* fruitful see Mid. Pers. T r w r forest H ening *BSOS* 9. 87

nē husk u sāyak hamēšak bāi šīrēn paitāk hai gāh sūtbai hai gāh stūtak bui zītak 7 *ān i dušākās i* +*viyāpān*[1] *aδak-eč ān drayt nē humānāk čē ān drayt humānāk kē tāk nē* +*tai u razui nē āβairēt asūt apasīh*[2] *kait fratom čē vayšišn*[3] *bovēt mān mēhān stūn i paivāiān*[4] *u paiispi nēvak* "A decisive and wise man is thus well considerate, they praise him much in all places, they celebrate him much in all parts of the world like the tree, rich in foliage, whose trunk is not dry, and whose shade is always sweet to look at, useful in every place, praised and celebrated in every place 7 The senseless fool, on the contrary, is not comparable to that tree, because he is, on the contrary, similar (comparable) to the tree with the branch dried up, which has no foliage, is useless, and is cut down only when it is of some utility for the house and the court in the shape of a column of a palace and good rafter"

It is used in connection with *dušākās* also in 12 *ān i dušākās i viyāpān kē rvēš-tan rāδ zōi graγēnēt u-š āhang pat rvēš vattai čē hač ayvēš-kāmīh dušnēm hač graγistih van*[5] *dēi živišnīh* [i] *rvēštan rvat kunēt* "That senseless fool who goes to the length of doing violence to himself and his intentions are worse for himself, in fact, contrary to his duty, led astray from (his own) tendency, he completes his (own) destruction for the duration of his own life by himself"

Finally, ibid 20, it is said *maitom-eč i kui viyāpān kē pat bun i kāi stait u vat-xrat u-š hai gāh pat frahang vistaxv pat pēš* +*staitak hai rōč kamai bē apaiāiand u afrank zanand andai bun dāivāi guig dāiand*. "A blind and senseless (mad) man who is routed in the beginning of the

1 Jam As ﺭﺍﺯ

2 Thus the ms JJ For *apasih* cfr Nyberg II, 15, *apasih kartan* is synonymous with the frequent caus *apasthēnītan*

3 *Vays* 'capacity' *GrBd* 190, 15

4 *Paryvāry* "palace" Ps 121 1, Andreas-Barr 57

5 *Vai* 'destruction', cf Mid-Pers T S *wnybwt* "annihilated" Henning *BSOS* 9 89.

action who is of evil judgment and who is every time negligent of instructions and who is tired even before commencing (the action), (one of these types who) sweep the room every day and break the decorations, and keep the furnace (?) under the wooden pavement "

Just as is seen from this passage the question here is plainly of a pathological psychic state and in fact in *PT* 73. 14 sq it is said *dō hand remār i viyāpān ke pat xvešan mustkar u stambak* "(The following) two are sick persons, (who are) out of their senses (the one is) he who is violent and furious to himself " Unfortunately the phrase stops here because the next folio is missing in the MS

5 The meaning of *viyāpān* is thus ascertained on the one hand it means "led astray cheated and on the other it means perturbed senseless out of the senses Now we have to enquire into the origin of the word Against Nyberg *Hilfsb* II 247 Henning *GGA* 1935 10 observes correctly that a derivation from *vi+āp-* is to be excluded for the sake of its meaning He traces *viyāpān* from Av *vivāpa* and justly explains the correspondence of *v g* in the intervocalic position as a dialectical fact For which cf Tedesco *MO* 15 197 and Schaeder *UJ* XV 560 sq

Av *vivāpa* (Y 12 2, 3) means 'destruction (Bthl *AltirWb* 1452) and is synonymous with *-yānay-* "damage" Bartholomae derives the word from *vi vap-* "to throw across to confound" (see only *vap-*) As regards the meaning to cheat" which is derived from it it seems to me, that its *rapprochement* to Gr διαβάλλω is obvious which has got the figurative meaning of "confounding cheating from that of throwing across" whence διαβολος means "the deceiver"

Again *viyāpān* is an exclusive term of the Zoroastrian tradition which is reflected in the Pahlavi books On account of its homophony with *viyāpān* "desert barren [1] Ps *viyāpān*

1 Mid. Pers *viyāpān* desert Neo-Pers. *biyābān*, is to be traced back surely to Ir *vi-āp-* without water Av *vi-āpō tama* which is the most waterless"

Andreas-Barr 127 (δ for γ) has certainly contributed to it "lacking vitality"

III

dīpahr "anger"

1. Two forms *dypšny* 95 11 and *dypšty* 123 3 recur in the Pahlavi translation of the Psalms, meaning "anger". Andreas-Barr, 38 justly refers to Mid-Pers TN *dybhr* T II D 178 k 3a (Lentz, *Stellung Jesu*, 112) to which T II D II 134 (b) 7, M 6 (e) 85, Andreas-Henning 3 54 are now to be added

2 The Parthian form is certainly to be recognised in which occurs in *AZ* 41 - 42 *hakar šmāh bayān sahēt sōhan i x̌ēš ruvān barēt pat x̌varrēh i ōhrmazd bay u dēn i mazdēsnān u gyān [i] zarēr i brāt sōhand x̌varēt*[1] *ku-t nē žanom u nē ōžanom u nē-i pat dēpahr dārēm tāk gōbēh ič bavēt andar ān razm i vištāspān pas gōbēt vištāspšāh ku pat x̌varrēh i ōhrmazd u dēn i mazdēsnān u gyān [i] zarēr (i) brāt sōhand x̌varom ku-t nē žanom u nē ōžanom u nē-i pat dēpahr dārom* "If it pleases Your Majesty your own word may carry the soul, swear by the splendour of Ōhrmazd the God, by the religion of Mazdā, and by the life of (your) brother Zarēr that you will not beat me, you will not kill me, you will not be angry with me, because I will tell (you) what will happen in this Vištaspian battle Thereupon spoke king Vištāsp 'I swear by the splendour of Ohrmazd and (by) the religion of Mazdā, and (by) the life of (my) brother Zarēr, that I will not beat thee, I will not kill thee, and I will not be angry with thee (lit, I will not hold thee in (my) anger)'"

3 Before this sure reading of [2] which coincides

Bartholomae *AltirWb* 1435 sq The *rapprochement* to Av *ti-tāpa* by Horn, *GrNpEt* 57, see also Bthl, l c, is not well founded

1 A magic and rather obscure formula of oath follows it Cf Pagliaro, *Il testo pahl. AZ*, p 22

2 The most obvious reading of is *spihr* "heaven" and "destiny" *GrBd* 166 11,12 (where the script is) *PT* 95 6 In *HAM* 15 the text is too corrupt, to allow us to judge the form from the context in which it occurs

perfectly with the Mid Pers T N form the former attempts advanced by Salemann in *Bull Ac St Pétersb.* 1912, 145 (*spaxr* does not mean teuschung [sic] vorspiegelung but "feast rejoicing")[1] and by myself in *RSO* 15 288 sq fall flat. The form *depahr* is to be added to the dialectical characteristics of Parthian origin which the text of the *AZ* offers us cf Pagliaro *Il testo pahl AZ* in *Rend Acc. Lincei* Serie VI Vol I 552 sq (extr, 3 sq)

4 As regards the etymology of Parth. *depahr* and Pers *dypsn* and *dypst* it is obvious to think of the verb *dēp*[2] to deceive, to cheat which has resulted from the crossing of *dab-ya* to deceive Mid. Pers T *rdyb* deceit and *rēp* in *frefton* to deceive Horn *Neu pers Et* 629, for the suffix cf Mid. Pers T *ivahr* "life" Bartholomae *ZAirWb.* 52 note and Mid Pers B *ivān* life" *-ivist* infinitive form for which see Bartholomae *WZKM* 29 30

5 The meaning deceit does not cover precisely the wider signification of the word It seems evident that *dēpahr* properly means "resentment or "odium hatred which broods "deceit" As to this question it may be mentioned that there is a form *drafsa* in the *Gāthās* to which Bartholomae has given a generic meaning qual pein torture" but which joined with *asta* "odium animosity (*Y* 44 11) makes us think of a meaning analogous to that of *depahr* the Pahlavi version is (Bthl *AltirWb* 764) *ān i āsān*

1. The word *spaxr* occurs in Mid. Pers. T *pag* M. 2 (Salemann l. c.) and in Mid. Pers. B. *DkM* 554 19 sq.. *pāk afsōskar mart spaxr nē kunišn ... hamxvarān ne bē ... i bāstān sarm rasēt ku pāk afsōskar mart i spaxr kunēt ayāp* [*ham*] *xvarān bē* ... "With a jeering man one is neither to feast nor to hold a banquet. In fact he who feasts with a jeering man or becomes his table-companion always finishes badly

2. Pa. *Vydyftk'n* Andreas-Barr 80 see also Schaeder *LJ* 15,5 7 *DkM* 85.1 sq. *i dāft k lan vidīftak apurnāyīk* the deceived wife the deceived minor "

3 It is probable but not sure, given the graphical opposite with *ascīt* that a denominative *dēpst* must be admitted! *DkM* 83.21 sq: *pāk an i dēpst kar hamēstār ... apāxtarīh i martōm* With him who deceive for the sake of hostility and odium towards men. The whole passage, in which the identical graphical complex recurs is not very clear

frēft bovand ī ōhrmazd "These are deceived by Ohrmazd", and adds by way of explanation *pas dānīnd ku frēft ēstēm* "Then they perceive we are deceived"

For the etymology of *dvafsa* we can think of a compound *d(a)vap (a)sa-* "who aims at deceit", in which the first element is to be traced to Ir *dab-* "to deceive", cf Av *adavay-* "who does not deceive" and the second is to be derived from *(s)pas* "to spy", "to watch over", cf Av. *pasna-* 'Hinsehen auf' Bthl, *AltiWb* 885

It is not to be ruled out that in *dēpahr*, *dypšn*, *dypst* we find the same compound The direct starting point must be from *d(a)vay-pasra*, *d(a)vay-pašna-*, *d(a)vay-past* In such a case, the three forms would reflect different suffixes and not any dialectical diversity

IV

hamaβδēn from *hamaδvēn* 'of the same nature", "analogous', and "of every species, "all, whole"

1 The word [1], written also and , occurs frequently in the Pahlavi of the books and is generally read *hamōgēn* (Salemann, *GrIrPh* 1 a, 280, 293 sq), *hamogēn* (Junker, *FrP* 93) and finally *hamōkēn* (Nyberg, *Hilfsb* II, 97) The meaning generally attributed to it is that of "all, whole"

2 It is not noticed upto now how this same graphical complex expresses in the tradition of the *Kn*, a word with a different meaning, *viz hamaδβēn*, which is the result of the

1 The form is the most frequent and irregular Evidently, the graphical complex was so stylised, in the tradition of the scribes, as to make it look like an ideogram, it occurs in fact in *FrP* 25 5, and is given as its *uzvārišn* Such a form is derived from , which in its turn either renders the form with the vṛddh (*hām°*) or, as is more probable, it is a simple *scriptio plena* of the first of this component Cf *hamvār* "always", *GrBd.* 178 8, *Kn* 8, *hamar.ān* "dignitaries" *AZ* 2, against *ib* 1, *ham* "same", *GrBd* 169 10 *pat ham šap* "on the same night" side by side with , West *Gloss a Index* 29 As regards the presence of the initial vowel in the form, which forms part of the compound (short *a*) there is no difficulty

consonantal metathesis of the more frequent *hamaδvēn* of the same nature"

8 *Hamaδvēn* when written corresponds to the original form viz. ṭuṛa It occurs many times in the *MhD* and elsewhere *MhD* 30 1 sq *ka mart kē ō kas tōsiān dahisn hamaδvēn xvāstak i xves rāδ kart ku nēm tāk 10 sāl ō farroxv xvēs* 'If a man who in a measure corresponding to the payment or gift which he has to make to another for a thing from his own property settles thus the half for ten years will appertain to Farroxv "

MhD 35 9 sq *ka kart ku hao bar u vaxt i hao xvāstak māh fravartin pat ruvān farroxv ē u māh tir pat ruvān i mihryōn ēn yasisn u har sāl pat ān rōc ka fraxām bovēt yasisn cand sāyēt ē kunisn ka vaxt tāk nē bovet cand ān yasisn hamaδvēn hacas kartan sāyēt* "If it is fixed from the profit and increment of this thing this funeral service is to be performed in the month of Fravartin for the soul of Farroxv and in the month of tir for the soul of Mihryōn every year when that day arrives as many (funeral) services should be performed as it would be possible If the income is not sufficient, it is lawful to perform the (funeral) service in a corresponding measure"

MhD 53 4 sq *hambāy kē xvāstak + nisāy*[1] *i pitarān vicārisn hamaδvēn yut hac xvāstārih be vicārt gōharikān hac hambāyān apāc xvāst pātixsāy* An associate who pays a sum in a measure corresponding[2] to patrimonial tribute which is to be paid without the consent (of his co-associates) has the right to claim the reimbursement from the associates"

MhD.A 23. 1 sq *ka gōβēt ku tāk rētak apurnāy ēn cis ō tō dahom yuttar bovēt ciyōn ka gōβēt ku tāk rētak*

1 I read *nisāy* tribute cf. Kn. 198 (*nisāy u bāj* "present and tribute) ed F A. cal 16, *MhD* 98. 10 (from n *sāy*- 'to put down ").

2. *Hamaδvēn* a 'entire" 'whole would be possible (see below) "the entire sum t be paid as pat imonial tribute but th meaning 'suitable corresponding i more probable Bulsara, 816 has precisely 'accordingly" The remaining translation is different.

purnāy bovēt ēn čiš ō tō dahom čē ka gōβēt ku tāk rētak apurnāy ēn čiš ō tō dahom aδak-aš pat gyāk tē dahišn u š hangām tāk rētak purnāy bovēt xvēš u š pas nē xvēš u ka gōβēt ku tāk rētak purnāy bovēt ō tō dahom aδak-aš pēš hač purnāyīh i rētak bē dahišn hač as hamaδvēn xvēš "If one says Until the boy is minor, I give this thing to thee, it is different, if one says, as long as the boy is not of age, I give this thing to thee In fact, if he says I give thee this thing until the boy is minor, then the thing is to be given immediately and for the time until the boy is not of age, the property is his, but afterwards it is not (his), and if he says I will give thee the thing whilst the boy becomes of age, then the thing is to be given before the age of majority, and it is the property of that (person) in a conforming measure" Bartholomae, *zSR* 2, 20 reads *u-s hamēvēn*[1] *xvēš*, but his interpretation is not exact

MhD A 30 10 sq *ka šōδ u žan pat ē yāvar hač mart 1 āpām stānēnd ān mart ān āpām hamaδvēn hač žan xvāst tuvān u pat rāδēnišn i dātistān dastoβarīh i šōδ andar nē apāyēt* "If the husband and the wife receive a loan from a man for a time, the latter can reclaim the loan equally from the wife, and for the commencement of the judicial process the delegation (?) of the husband is not necessary' see Bartholomae, *zSR* 1 25 sq

GrBd 167 15-168 1 sq *ka ōhrmazd ēn 6 hamahraspand frāč āfrīt xvat-eč apāk ōšān ān i pahlom 7om būt aδak pursīt hač ōšān ku amāk kē āfrīt hēm u-šān ēvak-eč pasoxv nē kart yāvar i ditīkar u sitīkar hamaδvēnak pursīt pas artvahišt guft ku mān tō āfrīt hēm ōšān-eč pat hamdātistānīh*[2] *hamaδvēnak guft* "When Ōhrmazd had created the six archangels, and He Himself with them, as the first,

1 For the reading *hamēvēn* see Bthl , *WZKW* 27 354, n. 2, against the reading *-ēvēn* of the second part of the compound see Nyberg, II, 8

2 MS [Pahlavi script], corresponding to [Pahlavi script] for [Pahlavi script] = *dātistān*, cf *GrBd* 9 11, *MhD* 69 2, *Kn* 178

čēr u vartak būt "By the favour of God, in the game of the ball, in horsemanship, in the game of chess and in other exercises he became equally valiant and skilled like those (people)" If "all" referred to by *ōšān* is meant (thus Nyberg, II, 97), there arises a problem, because *čēr* and *vartak* are not in the comparative (degree) In fact, compare the analogous sentence § 164. *hač ham° žanān vēh u frāčtar būt.* "Of all the women she became the bravest and the most advanced" On the reading of *ham°* also in the sense of "all", see below § 7.

Kn 145 *artaxšēr ka-š pat ān aδvēnak dīt bē mānd u-š dil-sōčak būt u asp apāč vašt u handēšit ku vāy ō martom bovāt ka-č apāk adānih u agōβākih (i) ēn čahārpāδ gung pas mihr ēvak ō dit ētōn aβaspurīh ku vaxš[1] rēš žan frazand rāδ apaspārēt hamaδven hačaš [ān žan u] ān frazand i-š andar aškamb dāšt aβyāt būt u pat pōšt [i] asp ētōn čiγōn ēstāt pat buland vāng bē grist* "Ardashīr, when he saw this, stopped, and the heart burnt him He turned back his horse, and reflected 'Woe be to men, if these dumb quadrupeds, with all their lack of reason and speech, are so affectionate one for the other, that they give up their life for their females and for (their) young ones' By analogy of this, he remembered his wife and his little son borne by her in the womb, and on horseback, just as he was, he began to lament loudly" The expression *hamaβδēn hač-aš* is identical with that of *MhD* 35 12 seq *hamaδvēnak hačaš* and *MhD* 23 seq *hač-aš hamaδvēn*

5 In the case of *hamaδvēn*, always written , and of *hamaβδēn*, which is derived from it (and), we have a compound whose first part is *hama-* "same"

In the same graphical complex , written also which means "all", we have a compound with the first

1 *Vaxš* "spirit" *GrBd* 186 11 (where it is the mention of Buddha in the Bodhisattva) 190 15, Mid.-Pers T *v'xš*, Salemann, *MSt* 71, Jackson, *Res* 291 sq *v'xšyh* "spiritual" Henning, *Man Bet u Be chth* 136

219 see *AZ* 48 For *hamtāk* "equal", cf *Vēmuān* 3 *u-š brāt bavēt u hamtāk u-š dōst bavēt hamgyān u hamtan* "He becomes a brother and equal to him, and he becomes a friend to him, and of the same mind and of the same body", *DkM* 505, 7, *Mx* 2 4-5 (Nyberg, II, 97), cf *ē tāk* "all together" *Vič iatr* 22, *ēvtāk* "also, at a single stroke" *PT* 77 4, *AVn* 46 7, *Zsp* 4 3, *GrBd* 89 11

7 If the hypothetical form *hamōk* is once eliminated its derivative *hamōgēn* falls flat, and the hypothesis that it is to be read *hamaβδēn* becomes more obvious[1] Side by side with a *ham-aβδēn* corresponding to *hamaδvēn* "of the same species", a homophonous *ham-aβδēn* "of every species", whence "of all species", is confirmed That the form *ham-aβδēn* and not the form *ham-aδvēn* is confirmed in the sense of "all" in the Pahlavī of the books is explainable with the necessity of distinguishing the two words, identical in form, but different in meaning

8 Nyberg, *Hilfsb* II, 3, is of opinion that it is necessary to distinguish between *aδvēnak*, derived from *adivaina-* and Arm *awren-k'* "law", *awrinak* "manner", which presupposes *aβδēn* from **aβiδayana-* (*dāy-* "to see", Mid-Pers *dītan*) Now, the form *aβδēn* is in fact documented in Mid-Pers T, and it is a Parthian form *ˀwdyn* (initial *ā* is secondary, perhaps influenced by *ā* + *danaya-*, Mid-Pers T *dynay* "mirror") It is obvious that with Henning, *BSOS* 9, 79, we must consider it in the first place as a derivation by consonantal metathesis from *aδvēn*

9 The presence of the form *hamaβδēn* in Pahlavī texts like the *Kn* does not surely exclude that here it might be the question of a term of northern origin In fact, the word occurs in the *Kn* effectively in a fixed expression with *spāh* ("all army, the whole army") 66, 81, 85, 87, 91, 98, with *hēr u xvāstak* ("all the riches and the goods") 69, 78, 82, 89,

1 The form of the Mid-Pers T *h m g y n*, which Salemann, *MSt* 81, *hamaγēn*, takes in the sense of "plain", "equal" see also Jackson, *Res* 49 sq

109 and finally with *martom* ("all the men") 88 98 and *žanān* ("all the women") 164

10 In *Kn.* 127 the word is used in an adverbial sense "in a complete manner" "completely" which confirms the etymological origin to which we have hinted above *u ān i 2 vatbaxt brātarān i tō kē ēn mihr-druž pat band zēndān pat pātifrās dārēt kc mark pat āyaft hame xvāhand u t hamaβδēn hac daxšak bē hišt* "And the two wretched ones, thy brothers whom this traitor holds in chains and in prison by way of punishment and who call always for help, thou hast abandoned them completely"

11 Elsewhere it is doubtful whether we have to deal with *hamaβδēn* "of every species" "all" or with *hamaβδen* "in the same manner" I am inclined to think that in the two following passages it has the second meaning *Kn* 162 *artaxšēr ēšm u ken rāδ gyāk ō mihrak šut u hamaβδēn frazandān i mihrak framūt ožan ōžat* "Ardašīr went away at once for Mihrak on account of anger and wrath in (such) a manner that he ordered the sons of Mihrak to be killed (and) they were killed" *Kn* 196-197 *spāsδārih andar yazdān hangārt u š guft ku humānāih i ēn ān ast i kēt[1] i hinduk guft pas hac ān ka Ohrmazd ō xvatāyih rasit hamaβδēn erān šahr apāc ō ēvxvatāyih tovānist āβurtan.* "He offered grace to God and said: 'This is in conformity with what the Indian fortune-teller had said When Hormizd sat on the throne it was accordingly possible for him to bring back the Iranian kingdom to unity" That in §§ 155 157 158 where an analogous phrase occurs, *hamaβδān* is wanting dissuades us from referring *hamaβδēn* to *ērān šahr* On the contrary *hamaβδēn* here precisely seems to show that analogous to the preceding confirmation of the truth of the previsions of the Indian fortune-teller all that he had foreseen had equally come to be realised

---

1 *Kēt* astrologer Henning *BSOS.* 9 91 sq

12 To sum up, [illegible] is to be always read *hamaβδēn* in spite of all that has been written upto now about it, and the double meaning "in the same manner", "analogous", "in all manners", "all" is to be attributed to it, as the first part of the compound is either *hama-* "same" or *hama-* "all" Its use is sometimes adjectival, sometimes adverbial The Parthian origin of *aβδēn* is probable against *aδvēn*, however, the latter is explained as a simple matter of metathesis

---

A GLIMPSE INTO IRAN AFTER THE ARAB CONQUEST

By Prof Firoze Cowasji Davar M.A. LL.B

The late Mr G K. Nariman was perhaps the first Parsi scholar who maintained that Iran fell before the Arabs owing to her own irreligion inefficiency and maladministration and that the proselytising sword of the conquerors was not responsible for the numerous conversions of the inhabitants into Islam The ball has been kept rolling in the same direction by Dr I J S. Taraporewala in some of his works till it seems to have reached the goal in his Gujarati contribution to the Buddhiprakash for July September 1936 on the subject of the advent of the Parsis into India and their subsequent history An attempt is made in this article to present the other side of the shield and to show how very difficult it was for average human flesh and blood to withstand the Muslim persecution and the lure of conversion into Islam accompanied as it was by temptation of worldly lucre. Much has been said, and said rightly about the chaotic state of Iran and the degeneration of Zarathustrianism since the dissemination of the pernicious Mazdakite doctrines yet this contribution which is a rejoinder to the apologists of Arab rule will enable the judicious reader to adjust the balance and glean the truth for himself.

It is impossible to examine this very controversial problem in detail but certain conclusions may be arrived at from historical data of unimpeachable authenticity In the first place it will be noticed that the most authoritative works on the question of Arab persecution are largely written by Muslim historians in Arabic, or by Western scholars (like Prof. T W Arnold) who have based their arguments

on facts narrated by those Muslim writer Since human nature is the same throughout the ages, it is but natural that authors should be partial to their own country and community After the Arab conquest, the Iranians were, for nearly 200 years, forbidden to write in their own mother-tongue, so it is impossible to expect an anti-Arab history written by an Iranian in his own language surviving to the present day It is not astonishing, therefore, to find the Muslim historians and their followers having things all their own way, and propounding the view that the Iranian conversion to Islam was due to the greatness of that religion and not to the oppression of the conquerors In spite of these untoward circumstances, stray instances of Muslim persecution may be found in nooks and corners of Arab histories if these illustrations are gathered and systematized, they will suffice to throw valuable light on the question under consideration

We may now turn to only a few of these instances Khalif Māmun has been considered by Muslims a very tolerant ruler, but he is once reported to have expressed the view that idolaters should either embrace Islam or any other faith sanctioned by the Qorān or be prepared for death It is an acknowledged fact that Muslims are expected to fight against the 'Ahl-i Kitāb' ("followers of revealed religions') till they pay the Jaziyāh (capitation tax), but the war was to continue against the idolaters till they adopted Islam, (*Vide* 'Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics article on 'Persecution' by Prof T W Arnold) It is also recorded that the same Khalif was once celebrating the 'Id festival at Marv in 814 A C He inquired whether there was any one among those present who could compose verses in Old Persian, a language which had been banned since the Arab conquest An unsuspecting youth of 25 summers, named Abbās, thereupon improvised a Qasidah in Old Persian on the spot in eulogy of the Khalif Māmun immediately

ordered the execution of the youth for in the Khalif's opinion a poet of a subjugated country singing in a proscribed language would surely arouse the flagging nationalism of the state and thereby prove a menace to be conquerors (*Vide* the late Mr Dinshah J Irani's Preface to his work Sukhanwarān i Daurān i Pahlavi) If a 'tolerant' Khalif should be capable of such cruel beliefs and actions it is not difficult to understand the policy pursued by other bigoted and fanatic rulers

The great Ibn Muqaffā was a profound Zarathustrian scholar who had embraced Islam and was compelled to write his numerous works and translations in Arabic As in the case of so many of his fellow-countrymen proselytism with him was not tantamount to denationalization and owing to his inability to conceal his love for Iran and his old faith this rare gem of scholarship was put to an excruciatingly painful death in 757 A C After subjecting him to tortures till his death his body was cut to pieces which were thrown into a blazing furnace (*Vide* Prof Pour i Davoud's Government Research Fellowship Lectures delivered under the auspices of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute grl 28, p 117)

Khalif Harun ar Rashid has left an immortal name in history and fiction though some of his misdeeds are enough to awaken a doubt about the propriety of his title Rashid the righteous" In his reign there lived the illustrious Barmak family of Zarathustrian priests who had been recently converted into Islam J'afar Barmaki was the confidential adviser and most intimate friend of Hārun who had married him to his sister Abbāsah The sad tale of J'afar and Abbāsah has drawn tears from the eyes of lovers of Persian but need not detain us long here The Khalif himself was at fault, but he vented his wrath on J'afar who without being given an opportunity to explain himself was put to death with all the members of his famous family in

802 A C while the unfortunate 'Abbāsah and her child were buried alive Infuriated with the lust of blood, Hārun further disgraced his reign by a declaration that any one who took J'afar's name in his presence would immediately pay for his rashness with his life If this be the fate of renowned Iranians, who had even accepted Islam, there is no knowing how intolerable must have been the lot of the Persian masses, who preferred to adhere to the faith of their fathers

Let us first examine the treatment meted out by the conquerors to the Iranian converts to Islam Such converts had to consider themselves 'Mawāli' ("wards") of some Arab family, whose head was to be considered as their patron Even though these 'Mawāli' had accepted Islam, and even when many of them were persons of acknowledged merit, they were not placed on a level of social and political equality with the conquerors. The Arabs even refrained from matrimonial alliances with the 'Mawāli' nay, according to Prof S Khudābax, controversy was rife on the question whether these Iranian converts could contract marriage with Arab women even in paradise! Iranian converts used to offer prayers in separate mosques, which shows how little the spirit of Islamic brotherhood had infiltrated into the conquerors An Iranian convert was never respectfully addressed according to the Arab 'Kuniyat' custom as 'Abu Fulān' (father of so and so) or 'Ibn i Fulān' (son of so and so), but was contemptuously called by his own name or nickname However venerable and learned a 'Maulā' ("Iranian convert to Islam") may be, he was regarded as an untouchable and he had to sit alone in a group of Arabs or follow last of all in an Arab procession We are told that right up to the commencement of our century the gates of several American parks bore the following notice —"No admission to dogs and negroes". After reading this, it is needless to turn to history to determine the status of negroes in American society So too

there was a proverb among the Arabs of those days quoted by Prof Khudābux on the authority of the eminent German author Von Kraemer which may serve to settle the position of Iranian converts to Islam after the conquest. The saying — Prayers are nullified when three objects cross the path of the devotee—a dog or an ass or a Maulā (Iranian convert to Islam) Further comment is unnecessary

We have reviewed the Arab hatred for Iranians even when they had accepted Islam We may now turn to the Arab treatment of Iranian Zarathustrians. It was the policy of Khalif Omar that the Arabs should chiefly subsist as a class of warriors. The Arab never held lands nor cultivated the soil they were immune from payment of taxation but they lived the care-free life of a military aristocracy On the other hand the Zarathustrians could hardly boast of any rights they were merely hewers of wood and drawers of water obliged to pay heavy taxes and compelled to supply provisions and clothing to the Arab army during war To escape these troubles many Zarathustrians embraced Islam only to fall from the frying pan into the fire and be treated contemptuously as Mawali But now Khalif Omar shocked the country with a new declaration according to which the Jaziyāh was to be levied even from Iranian converts Omar was a shrewd judge of human nature and he foresaw that, to escape from taxes and other forms of harassment, Zarathustrians in large numbers would go over to Islam, in that case the State finances would be depleted and government would become paralysed Omar therefore saw the necessity of damming the tide of conversion into Islam by issuing a further order which permitted an Iranian convert to hold only his movable goods while all his immovable property lapsed to the government. Thus the unfortunate Iranians found themselves on the horns of a distressing dilemma and knew not whither to turn for help in their own country Acceptance of Islam rendered

them immune neither from Arab contempt nor the dreaded Jaziyāh, while continuance in their ancient faith was attended with all the horrors, pains and penalties which this proud but fallen nation found well-nigh impossible to endure

The Iranians who continued as Zarathustrians were known as 'Zimmis', meaning, according to the Persian lexicon, those who were "tolerated by the Muhammadan law on paying an annual poll tax This shows that the Zarathustrians were simply allowed to exist and their presence was "tolerated' as being necessary for payment of taxes The evidence of these Zarathustrians was inadmissible in a Muslim court of law, and so it was impossible for the Zarathustrian to seek legal redress for his wrongs According to the Qorān IX, 29, the tax-payer was to be humbled when he made the payment, and this afforded a convenient handle for persecution to heartless and fanatic officers The Zarathustrian tax-payer was often made to cool his heels for a long time, and he had to bow down his head and back while making payment then the Muslim tax-collector took him by the beard and, to complete his humiliation, slapped him on both cheeks Even if the Muslim proceeded further with his impudence, the Zarathustrian had perforce to keep silent, for he was perfectly aware that his evidence was inadmissible in a Muhammadan law-court

Sir Jadunath Sarkar in Volume III, Chapter XXXIV, of his great work 'The History of Aurangzebe' has reviewed the numerous impediments imposed on the religious and social liberties of the non-Muslims in a purely orthodox Muhammadan State The eminent author shows, with quotations from the Qorān, that the ideal of a truly orthodox Muslim State-Church centres only in the propagation of Islam In such a government, a non-Muslim has simply no status at all, and he is actually considered a traitor to the State, his existence being merely tolerated as a necessary evil It must be admitted, however, that every Muslim

State was not characterized by such strict orthodoxy Akbar's religious views were generous to the verge of eclecticism but the administrations of Alāuddin Khilji Firoze Shah Taghlaq Sikandar Lodi and Aurangzebe for instance betrayed all the evils of narrow minded orthodoxy and in their regimes the injunctions of the Qorān were put into execution with that zealous regard for literalism which bigoted fury could dictate. It is needless to believe that the reign of every Khalif in Iran was strictly orthodox, but there certainly were several rulers who stamped their administrations with their own fanaticism, and the reader can picture to himself the condition of the Zarathustrians who had the misfortune to live in such reigns of terror

Some idea of what the state of affairs was in Iran in the latter part of the fifteenth century could be had from a letter written by the Iranian priests of the times The Indian Parsis, thinking their co-religionists of Iran better informed than themselves on religious matters referred to them certain questions the answers to which are known as the Rivāyats The first person who was thus commissioned to Iran was an Indian Parsi named Nariman Hoshang and the first Rivāyat to reach India was in 1478 A C In the covering letter the Iranian Zarathustrians referring to the political oppression of the times observed that the tyranny was more intolerable than any other which Iran had experienced since the days of Zohāk or Afrāsiyāb or Tur or Alexander" They felt that the day of resurrection was approaching and they awaited the advent of the Saoshyant. The Iranian Zarathustrians lived in such constant dread of their persecutors that they were reluctant to put down anything in black and white lest it may catch the eye of some Muslim Hence the Iranians in their correspondence with their Indian co-religionists wrote the important words in Avestan characters, so that they might not be deciphered by the Muslims

If we turn from ancient and mediaeval to modern Iran of the times of the Qajars, we come across the same soul-harrowing descriptions given by Parsi missionaries who had proceeded from India to the fatherland to ameliorate the condition of their co-religionists. Even then the loathsome Jazyah continued to harass the Zarathustrians, who were contemptuously called 'Gabrs', and compelled to dwell in a sequestered locality called 'Gabr Mohalla', which constituted the underworld of Iranian cities. They were forced to wear a certain dress which facilitated their recognition as 'Gabrs'. They were not supposed to ride, and if they did, they had to get down on accosting a Muslim even of low degree. They had to build their houses so low as to enable a Muslim to touch the roof with his hand. If such were some of the provoking molestations to which Parsis were subjected in the last years of the nineteenth century, one can well envisage the dreadful past and imagine what terrible harassments were in store for the sons of the soil after the Arab conquest. Only compare the down-trodden condition of the Iranian Zarathustrians towards the end of the preceding century with the prosperous state of their Indian co-religionists about the same time, and the fair-minded reader will immediately arrive at the only one inevitable conclusion. It is also significant that most modern Iranians like Āqā Pour-i Dāvoud and the late Mr Dinshah J. Irani have been bitter in their condemnation of Arab persecution, which in their opinion destroyed much of the culture of the land, leaving the remnants to be swept into annihilation in the Mongol inundation.

We admit that the Qorān, for instance in II, 257, does teach toleration to other faiths, and that by the inspiration of the Prophet Muhammad his son-in-law Hazrat 'Ali had bestowed some generous 'Ahd Nāmahs (charters) to the Zarathustrians. But a wide gaping gulf often flows between preaching and practice, and history, the true mirror of

a nation's deeds, reveals only the rarest instances of leniency shown to Iranian Zarathustrians by their conquerors. Quotations from the Scripture, bearing on tolerance and generosity can never justify acts of violence and bloodshed recorded in history these misdeeds rather serve to show how far the Muslims had swerved from the noble path laid down by their prophet.

But does not the very exodus of the Parsis from Iran to India itself proclaim the unbearable severity of Muslim rule? Do people ever prefer to relinquish their beloved fatherland in order to seek a permanent home in an alien country in the midst of new faces and novel customs? What was the motive that drove our ancestors to India—conquest commerce or love of travel? Conquest was of course out of the question, if it was trade or travel why did they not return to Iran but settle for good in a strange country? The only conclusion one can arrive at is that the Parsis like the Pilgrim Fathers of the West in the seventeenth century valued religious liberty more than life and preferred a foreign soil with all its disadvantages to the fatherland which was groaning under the yoke of the intolerant conquerors

It is unfortunate that there are few Arabic scholars among the Parsis to discuss this question from the Zarathustrian *point of view* But this subject has of late been attracting the attention of Parsis well-versed in their own sacred languages A useful booklet in Gujrati recently publised by a young research worker Mr J K. Katrak contains relevant passages from numerous works bearing on this controversy If we turn to our own sacred books we find that the Dinkard Dādistān i Dini and Bundahisn written after the conquest, are unanimously of opinion that our religious culture was blasted by the Arabs If the Arabs had exterminated our religious lore it has often been asked how such a voluminous work like the 'Dinkard referring to minute details of our faith could have ever been

written after the conquest Dr F S Chiniwala, in his Gujarati article contributed to the 'Frashogard' Silver Jubilee Memorial Volume, has made an effective reply to this objection He observes that our religious books had been largely destroyed, but the Dasturs had managed to preserve some notes and epitomes of the principal works In order that even these stray pieces may not perish, it was considered desirable to compile them in the form of an encyclopædia, which we know as the 'Dinkard' If our religious literature had flourished after the fall of Iran as it did in pre-conquest days, it would not have been necessary at all to preserve such scattered fragments in the 'Dinkard' Instead of being guided solely by Arab historians, it is essential that their testimony should be counter-balanced by that of our religious works

The down fall of a country is usually attributed to two principal causes—external aggression and internal disintegration, and though the main object of this article is to show the intensity of Arab persecution, still it does not seek to prove that the Iranianians were wholly blameless In spite of the able defence of the Dasturs by Dr F S Chiniwala, it seems hard to get away from the fact that Iran must have been to some extent, as other nations have been, at one time or the other, a priest-ridden country It is likely that several Iranians were attracted to Islam by its absence of priesthood and the rareness of its ceremonials, but priestly domination over Iran could never have been so unbearable as to bring about mass conversion in the shortest possible time and Dr I J S Taraporewala completely overshoots the mark by his incautious remark that the Iranians seemed to regard the Arabs in the light of their "saviours" No nation can ever be anxious to embrace the faith of the conquerors, just because that nation is burdened with excess of ritualism by its priests People in Iran were devoted to their religion, though it seems in some places whole-hearted devo-

tion had given place to indifference and the Arabs with the *fiery zeal of converts to a new faith took full advantage of* Iran's unconcern in this matter Again the Arabs took years to conquer the whole of Iran, penetrate into the mountain regions and subjugate the independent Zarathustrian kingdoms The conversion of the Iranians to Islam could not thus have been wholesale and spontaneous but reluctant and gradual and only when no ray of hope was left in sight.

It is true that the concluding years of Zarathustrian Iran presented a deplorable scene of anarchy and misrule which may be judged from the fact that during the four years 628 (death of Khusru Parviz) to 632 A C (accession of Yazdajard Sahryar) no fewer than eleven claimants for the throne came forward to plunge the helpless country into further trouble and unrest Internecine dissensions and the crushing defeats at the hands of the Roman Emperor Heraclius had completely demoralized the Iranians when they were overwhelmed by the Arab avalanche Some writers attribute much of the persecution of the Zarathustrians to the Iranian converts to Islam This theory can be substantiated by instances from the histories of religion which have shed abundant light on the convert's psychology which often makes it impossible for him to rest at ease till he proselytizes others by fair means or foul to his newly-accepted faith and hence there is nothing astonishing if Iranian converts to Islam were found at times to surpass the Arab Muslims in religious zeal and fanaticism. We are also told that the downfall of Iran was brought about by her own traitorous sons. This charge also cannot be wholly repudiated as false But one should like to know of a conquered country that has not been disgraced and sometimes betrayed outright by treasonable designs hatched by some of her own inhabitants It is possible that some Iranian Mazdakites smarting under their wrongs and longing to wreak revenge

for their overthrow in the times of Noshirwān, should have played their nation false in the hour of her greatest trial by inviting the Arabs and thus engulfing their own country in irretrievable ruin

It must be admitted that the Arabs sometimes interpreted the Qorān liberally, though on occasions they rigidly adhered to the letter of the law hence it cannot be said that there was a uniform repressive policy in Iran Prof Taher Rezwi, an author of liberal views, has shown in his 'Parsis—the People of the Book' that certain Khalifs were tyrannical while others were indulgent to non-Muslims The Governors of some provinces, like the notorious Hajjāj bin Yusuf, have earned considerable ill-fame by their oppressive measures When some of the 'Mawāli raised the standard of revolt against the levy of the hateful Jaziyāh Hājjaj, to break their unity, scattered them into different villages and branded the names of those localities on their hands, to prevent them from leaving their districts and banding themselves to cause trouble to the State But there are no reasons to believe that all Governors followed such a barbarous policy Iran had also the misfortune to be subjugated by other foes, who completed the destruction of the little religious literature that had been spared to us during Arab domination Some of these invaders were non-Muslims, for instance, the fiendish Mongols, whose incredible holocausts and extensive butcheries gave Muslim and Zarathuštrian alike a foretaste of the Day of Doom The Muslims naturally cannot be blamed for the Mongol excesses, from which they themselves were equal sufferers

Judging the question with all the impartiality we poor humans are capable of, we are driven to the conclusion that *on the whole* Muslim sovereignty in Iran has proved to be, religiously and socially, calamitous to the Zarathuštrians Liberty was not to be thought of, and even law-abiding Zarathustrians, who turned an honest penny in peace, lived

in constant dread of being reduced to poverty or compelled by fanatic rulers to seek exile in a foreign land or accept Islam in their own country Fear and temptation worked havoc in the course of ages and woefully reduced their numerical strength But the darkest night will silver into dawn and when Iran s hopes were at their lowest ebb her wonderful vitality asserted itself as usual with the result that with the accession H I M Reza Shah Pahlavi to the throne the funeral knell of bigotry and fanaticism was rung throughout the land It does one s heart good to behold illiteracy religious fury and discord yielding place to education social reform and brotherhood in that sorely tried country The desire nearest the heart of an Iranophile must be to wish permanent amity based on equality between Muslims and Zarathu trians which only can raise the fatherland to the height of its pristine power and glory

---

THE PĀZAND TEXT ON NAORŌZ

By Dastur Kaioji Dastur Peshotan Mirza

In the Persian Rivāyats an account of the "Naorōz" is given under the heading "Rasmahā-i Behdinān"[1] As Ervad Dhabhar observes, the compiler of the Rivāyats gives this account from "the Book of Avesta and Zand", which is not to be found in any Rivāyat from Irān A similar account of the Naorōz, under the same heading, is given in Pāzand Texts, edited by Ervad E K Antia pp 167-169

It appears that the Pāzand text is not the source of the account given in the Persian Rivāyats, because of the following reasons

(1) The "Dasturi" given in the Rivāyats from "the Book of Avesta and Zand" (Dhabhar's Rivāyat, p 111) is to be found in the Pāzand Text, p 202, under the heading

این دستوری دیگر در روایت نوشته است ×

The other "Dasturi" given in the Pāzand Texts, p 202, is the same as that given in Shapur Bharuchi's Rivāyat (Dhabhar's Rivāyat, p 110)

(2) The other passages given in the Rivāyats from "the Book of Avesta and Zand"[2] are not to be found in Pāzand text

Hence, we can conclude, both the Pāzand and the Persian versions descend from an independent source

The following is a free version of the Pāzand text.

These are the customs of the Behdins.

(1) The day "Khordād of the month Spandārmad—this day called "Khordād-Sāl-Gāh"[3] or "Naorōz Zāvali",[4] it is also called "Daryāi Naorōz"[4]

---

1 See The Persian Rivāyats by Ervad B N Dhabhar, pp, 338-340

2 See Dhabhar's Persian's Rivāyats, Introduction pp lxv lxviii

3 This should be Awardād-Sāl Gāh", see પારસી પંચાયતની તપાસ કરવા નેમાયલી કમિટીનો રીપોર્ટ, pp 96 98, 269-279

4. For these terms see Mr. Khareghat's article "The Daryāi Nōrōz" in Dr Modi Memorial Volume, pp 118-130

(2) The day Āstād of the month Spandārmad—the altar (to be erected on this day) is called "hūrak"[1]

(3) From the day Āstād upto the day Anīrān (of the month Spandārmad)—these five days are called the lesser days on each of these five days 1200 Ashem Vohus should be recited it will be "yāfta khāstār"[2] i. e. one's desires shall be fullfilled

(4) From the Gāthā Ahunavad upto the Gāthā Vahishtoyasht—these five days are called the five greater days on each of these five days 1200 Ahunavars should be recited it will be "yafta Khāstār" it will be a great merit.

(5) The day Ōhrmazd of the month Fravardīn is the "Naorōz Buzurg", it is called the great Norōz. They perform duty and good deeds they perform Izashni Myazd and Afringān ceremonies and they consecrate the Bāz they make "hamāzōr hamā ashō bed"[3]

(6) The day Khordād of the month Fravardīn is called "Naorōz Khordādi"[4] they consecrate darun the khshnuman whereof is known to the priests a suit of new clothes fruits milk flowers water and aromatic herbs should be placed (as offerings in the darun ceremony) and wine and water should be placed before the darun cakes, in the Hāvan Gāh the darun should be consecrated and Izashni should be performed with the (proper) khshnuman (of the day) First they perform Izashni then they make merriment, hold feasts and entertainments then both men and women drink wine seven times seven suits of new clothes are exchanged in succession and continuation and they put them on in such a way that in putting on the seven suits of clothes the day is passed it will be a great merit because

1. See Pers. Riv I. t. c., pp. lxv-lxviii
2. See Pāzand Texts, Antia, pp. 84 90.
3. i. e. they greet each other saying "let us be united"
4. See Pahlavi Texts edited by Dastur Jamaspji Jamaspasana, pp. 102-108 for translation see Cama Memorial Volume pp. 122-129

it is evident in the good religion that every year when the day Khordād of the month Fravardīn comes, men are given their daily sustenance; what will happen to men in that year is written on that day, hence this day is called the day of "Barād" Ōhrmazd the Good and Bountiful bestows on the Behdins the yearly rewards, and they do many good deeds (On this day) one should perform charity, speak the truth, and secondly, the Behdins honour the priests; on this day they, if they can, give holy garments, clothes and money (to the priests), so that the priests pronounce blessings upon them and their wishes are fulfilled Ōhrmazd the Good and Bountiful accepts the supplications of the priests, and when they consecrate darun, Khordād Amshāspand intercedes for them for their daily sustenance On this day every man and woman drink wine seven times, during this day they taste wine seven times, and if women drink wine on any other day except this day they should be punished

(7)[1] The day Khordād of the month Fravardīn is called "Naorōz Khordādī" This day is also called "Barād" They perform Izashni, Āfrīngān and Myazd ceremonies and they entertain (other Behdins) and make enjoyment and charity and convert an enemy into a friend [2]All Frohars of the holy pronounce blessings and benedictions on the house, the family, the husband, the wife and the children All Frohars of the holy visit this world, and the houses and the abodes are illuminated[2] All Frohars of the holy pronounce blessings and benedictions and they sit on the altar, the Behdins should recite Zand Avesta during these five days, from the day Āstād upto the day Anērān, and the five days of "Panji"[3]

---

1 What follows seems to be another account of the "Naorōz Khordādī", perhaps taken from a different source.

2 2 The Persian Rivāyats omit these sentences.

3 This refers to the five Gāthā days

PAHLAVI ANHAST PĀZAND ANAHAST UNTRUTH, FALSEHOOD

By Dastur Kaikhusru Mahiar Kutar Dastur Darab Pahlan, M.A.

This word which is of very frequent occurrence in Pahlavi is not read satisfactorily by scholars as shown below although the meaning assigned to it is correctly inferred from the different contexts. An attempt therefore is here made to collect as many passages in the Pahlavi literature as possible where the word is met with and to fix its correct reading.

At the outset it must be said that the decipherment of this word as *arāst* untrue cannot be maintained at all as in that case its proper orthography should be *arāst* and not (cf. *arāstihā* PG p 35.3). Neither can the reading *anāst*—the word also, being so often thus deciphered see below—stand the test etymologically. No proper clue is found for the correct reading of the word in the different texts quoted here except some passages of the Dinkard and the Shkand-Gumānīk Vijār and Aogemadaecha which give a clear hint as to its true pronunciation as noted in the heading of this article.

(1) MK 35 29 and 36.33 دروغ و

The Pāzand version gives the reading *darog-u-anāst* for this phrase (see Dānāk u Mainyō-i Kharad —Pahlavi Pazand and Sanskrit Texts ed. T D Anklesaria) and Antia's Pazand Texts gives the same reading at both the places—see p 311 16 and p. 113 3. S D Bharucha reads *arāçt* untrue false (see Lessons in Pahlavi Pāzand p. 138 and Pahlavi-Pāzand English Glossary p 33 where N.P ناراست *nārāst* is given as its equivalent) West reads *anāst* with the meaning of dispraise irreverence profanity and

In their edition of Arda Viraf Nameh Gosht Fryān and Hadokht Nask and in their Glossary Hoshangji Haug and West read the word here also as in A.V quoted above. Notice also the reading [illegible] (*khāst*) given by MS H7

(5) Jāmāspi (Pahlavi Pāzand —ed Modi)

p 2.7 [illegible]

p 2.8-9 [illegible]

p. 4 11 [illegible]

p. 16.9-10 [illegible]

For the first three quotations see also, Avesta Pahlavi and Ancient Persian Studies in honour of Dastur Peshotanji Sanjana p. 112 (last line) p 113 2 and p 115 2.

Modi reads *arāst* in all four cases. Pāzand Jamaspi gives *-ura khᵛasht* (or *khᵛast*) for the last quotation given here—see p 78 13. Further in the same Pāzand version of Jamaspi p. 66 (last line) we meet with [illegible] [illegible] which is read *khvāst gavishn* by West in Peshotan Memorial Volume p 101 7

(6) Dd 37.20 [illegible]
37·83 [illegible]

(See Anklesaria's Dadistan i Dinik p 70 4 and p 99 14) Here it should be noted that [illegible] (*anhasttha*) of 37 20 is quite different from [illegible] *arāsttha*. West's reading is *anāsttha* and *anāst*

(7) Vyt 44 Av *asta* = Pah [illegible]

The Av *asta* which generally means hatred, enmity, hostility is here translated in Pahlavi *anāshti* which simply means strife, discord. It has no connection whatever with our word [illegible] (see Dhabhar's ed. of Zand i Khūrtak Avistāk p 206). This *anāshtih* is the traditional reading referred to above—see (1) M.K. but for other Pahlavi renderings of Av *asta* see just below

(8) Pahlavi Yasna (see Spiegel's ed.).

34 8	Av	*āsta*	=	Pah	[Pahlavi]	(a)
44 14	„	,	=	„	[Pahlavi]	(b)
46 18	„	„	=	„	[Pahlavi]	(c)

Mills, in his edition of the Gathas, reads these words as *anāstīh* and *anāsthai*. Darmesteter reads (b) and (c) *anāsthai* and *anāstīh* (see Z A I, 292, 309), but for (a), he gives the reading *anastīh* and suggests the meaning, 'non-existence', thus —*an-asta* 'non-existence' (Z A. I, 253) This reading and meaning suggested by Darmesteter and followed by Bartholomae (AIW 361) are quite correct, as the following passages from Aog and ŚGV show

(9) Aog § 48

The Av *āsta* is here correctly rendered in Pāzand by *anhastī* which by the way is the correct transcription of our Pah. word [Pahlavi] (see 'Aogemadaeca' in Antia's 'Pazand Texts', p 352 5)

Again in the Pahlavi Text of '*Aogemadaecha*' (Dhabhar in 'Dastur Darab Memorial Volume') it is correctly translated in Pahlavi as [Pahlavi] which is the ideogram for the Pah [Pahlavi] further refer to P P G, p 18 2 — [Pahlavi] *(ait)* = [Pahlavi] *(hast)*

(10) 'Nirangastān' § 41

Here the Av. *āsta* is rendered in Pahlavi by [Pahlavi] (f 64 11) and [Pahlavi] (f 64.15), which both are corrupt forms of the correct word [Pahlavi] or [Pahlavi] and which is again correctly read *anastīh* by Bartholomae (see above (4) Pahlavi Yasna), but conjecturally given as *anīt-ih* by Darmesteter (see Z A 3, p. 104)

(11) ŚGV 4 12, 82 Pah [Pahlavi] = Pāz *anahast*

5.34 Pah [Pahlavi] ı [Pahlavi] = Pāz. *rāstīh u hastī*

5.35 Pah [Pahlavi] ı [Pahlavi] = Pāz. *drôgī u anhastī.*

Refer also to S 55 12.72 78, 79 where *anahast* and *anahasti* are again met with

The Shikan Gumani passages here show that the Pahlavi ideograms and and are rendered in Pāzand *anahast* *anahasti* and *hasti* respectively This shows that the Pahlavi word in question has for its Semitic equivalent (*an* = not and *hast* or *ast* = existence')

Again it is to be further borne in mind that Neryosang's Sanskrit equivalents *asat* and *nāsti* and Pāzand *anahast* and Pahlavi are all derivatives

(12) Dinkard (see Madan s and Sanjana s editions)

(*a*) Vol 6 (p 318 last line or D M., p 283 3

(*b*) Vol. 12, p 64 1 4

(*c*) Vol 14 p 23 6

(*d*) Vol 14 p. 24 11 (cf also S / P., p 90 (ch 24 5))

(*e*) Vol 17 p 104 4

(*a*) Dastur Peshotan Sanjana reads as *hāstharyā*. The phrase simply means lying falsehood or falsehood pertaining to Mithaokhta

(*b*) (*c*) (*e*)—here read *arīst* by Sanjana and *anāst* by West.

The word as given in (*d*) is read *khāst* by Sanjana and West with the meaning of enquiries

The phrase quoted in (*d*) from 'the Selections of Zādsparam is read by West 23 *khvāstak'o* meaning '23 enquiries

All this does not shed any light on the correct reading of the word but then compare the following further passages of the Dinkard

(1) Vol 8, p 433 5

(2) Vol 11, p 824

(3) Vol 11, p 842-3

From the last two quotations, it is to be inferred that

Pah = and

,, =

Hence the proper reading is *hastakīh* (or, *astakīh*) and *anhastakīh* (or *anastakīh*)

It will be seen from the above that the reading *anāst* or *anāst* of Pahlavi can now be superceded From the correct Pāzand reading given in Aog and SGV and from the Pahlavi passages of the Dinkard noted above, we can now with certainty, ascertain the correct reading as *anhast* (Sk *asat*) Again Yt 19 33-34 gives us the needful help in the correct reading of Pahlavi The Avesta phrase *draogem vāchēm anghaithīm* is exactly equal to the Pahlavi phrase noted in (1) MK, and furthermore *anghaithya* (= *an* + *haithya*) is the same as Sk *a-satya*

THE DOCTRINE OF DUALISM IN THE GATHAS

By Sorabji Naoroji Kanga B A

The meaning of the "twin mainyu which are dual and are a pair" according to Yasnas 30 and 45

The doctrine of dualism mentioned by Zarathushtra in connection with the mental working of human beings has nothing to do with the doctrine of duality which talks of two mighty Beings like Spenta Mainyu and Angra Mainyu who are distinct from and are always opposed to one another nor with the doctrine of polarity in nature as taught by Science.

It has been mentioned by Zarathushtra in Gāthic Yasnas 30 and 45 Yasna 30 talks of those two primeval spirits (mainyu paōruye) which are *twain* and which "*at first came together*" and "gave gaya and a jyāiti" Gaya and a jyaiti have been ordinarily translated as life and death or as life and lifelessness or as life and life's absence The twin mainyu have not been spoken of by any specific names but have been simply mentioned one as vahyo (comparative of 'vohu) as the better and the other as aka the evil In Yasna 45 these twin-mainyu have similarly been spoken of one as spanyāō (comparative of spenta) as the 'more beneficent," and the other as angra the evil In both the Yasnas these twin mainyu have been spoken of in connection with anghu that is human existence.

Introducing the subject of the twin mainyu in Yasna 30 Zarathustra begins in para 1 by stating before his audience that he is going to declare staotāchā Ahurāi yesnyāchā vangheush mananghō and hu mazdrā ashā, meaning respectively stuti or praises for Ahura benedictions of good mind and good manthrās or benignant meditations regarding Asha which is the Divine Immutable Law And it is then stated that these matters are well worth under standing for the spiritual illuminations (raōchebish) of the

11 that a man who chooses evil suffers for a long time" (daregem) shows that Zarathustra has not conceived of evil as something permanent in its nature in the constitution of human beings Zarathustra does not believe in the substantiality of evil nor in an original sin which cannot be conquered by man through his own exertions He does not believe that man will always remain sinful because of the supposed original sin unless his sins are taken over on his own shoulders by some mighty personage and the sinful man is thus absolved from the consequences of his own evil habits. I however do not believe that the gentle Jesus taught anything of this kind He like Zarathustra long before him has talked of admonitions given by God for the conduct of life, and has held men responsible for all their actions. He like Zarathustra long before him has talked of a time for each individual when evil will be no more when the Kingdom of God will be established in his heart when the frashem kerenāun ahūm the renovation of the ahūm of human life will be possible for him and for all human beings.

Reverting to our study of the twin mainyu I may state that many of the students and scholars have upto now considered that the twin mainyu which are dual and are a pair do not represent as I humbly suggest, merely the vacillating states of the unstable mind of a thinking human being but that they represent two Mighty Beings in the Universe one wholly good and the other wholly evil who are opposed to one another and who will carry on the fight till the time of the Farshogard These scholars would identify the Gāthic twin mainyu with the Spenta Mainyu and the Angra Mainyu of later Avestā writings But it is forgotten and it has also been considered as of no importance that Zarathustra has not called the twin mainyu by the specific names of Spenta Mainyu and Angra Mainyu

In the Gāthās there is no mention of beings like Spenta Mainyu and Angra Mainyu *as spoken of together* and as specifically so named nor of any supposed opposition between the two And it seems to me that in course of time and through various causes the subtle philosophy regarding the twin mainyu was not understood in its proper meaning and that this fact has given rise to the mistake of considering the twin mainyu as *two* independent mighty Beings who have however nothing in common between them but who are always opposed to one another It would also seem that the pre-Zarathushtrian idea of there being two mighty Being in nature warring against one another has once again asserted itself And the confusion evidently got thickened when the spanyāo of the Gathic twin mainyu came to be considered as the same as the specifically named Spenta Mainyu Mazdā's own Spirit mentioned about twenty times in the Gāthās and that consequently the angra of the twin mainyu thus necessarily came to be considered as Angra Mainyu.

It would also seem that when the idea of the opposition between two mighty Beings warring against one another became once again fixed in the minds of men it gave rise to another kind of confusion The Spenta Mainyu who was Mazdā's own Beneficent Spirit came to be identified with the Spento-temo or the Spenishto Mainyu that is with Mazdā Himself And thus it was that the opposition between the two mighty Beings came to be considered in some parts of the Avestā as the opposition between Ahura Mazdā Himself and the Angra Mainyu We find this latter kind of opposition mentioned in the first chapter of the Vendidād Ahura Mazdā created (fra thvoresat) something and the Angra Mainyu in opposition created (fra kerentat) something which would tend to nullify Ahurā Mazdā's creation In whatever way we may understand the words fra thvoresat and fra kerentat in the text it is certain that

Angra-Mainyu was considered strong enough to create something in opposition to Ahurā Mazdā's creations and thus to oppose Ahurā Mazdā Himself

Thus the result of the inability, in subsequent times, of comprehending the subtle philosophy of Zarathuštra in the Gāthās regarding the twin-mainyu was that the fight that is always going on according to Zarathuštra between the two opposing tendencies in the mind of a thinking human being, the fight between 'spanyāō' and 'angra' in a man, was thus transferred, in some cases, to Spenta-Mainyu and Angra-Mainyu and, in other cases, to Ahurā Mazdā and Angra-Mainyu [1] The original fight was thus transferred from the human plane to the spiritual plane!

But from such stray instances of confusion in the minds of some later writers, it must not at all be considered that the highest state of Ahurā Mazdā as the Supreme Being was in any way lost sight of by them. All the writers of the Avestan and of Pahlavī-Pāzand writings have placed Ahurā Mazdā on the highest pedestal Still the confusion of some kind was there in the minds of some writers, and the wholly imaginary Angra-Mainyu has stuck to us like some sinister shadow upto the present day And it is my object in this paper, as it was in the Gāthā Society Publication No IX spoken of above, to remove this disturbing shadow altogether and to show the pristine glory of Zarathustra's idea that Ahurā Mazdā is the only Omnipotent Creator of the Universe, who is also Asha, is wholly pure, untainted with anything like aka or angra, evil

At this stage, it is well worth noting that in the Haptan Yast which is ordinarily said to have been composed a hundred years after Zarathuštra in the Gāthic dialect and in the Gāthic spirit, the supposed Angra-Mainyu has not even once been mentioned. In the same way, the Hormuzd and the Ardibehešt Yašts preserve the original

high ideal even though they mention angra mainyu, not indeed as an opponent of Ahura Mazdā but as merely indicating the drûj—the cause of mischief—in the human constitution This supposed mighty being this angra mainyu who is in para 18 of the Ardibehest Yast, called pouru maharko, full of maharka or plague" for the human constitution runs away at the slightest touch wailing all the while that the bagha asha vahishta—the lordly and best Asha prayer—will defeat all its vile machinations for ruining human life! And finally as stated in para 17 of the Yast this drûj is completely driven out of the body in order that the gaethās of Asha may not again be invaded by it Mā merenchainish gaethāo astavaitish ashahe"

And we should also note that the Nirang given at the end of the Ardibehest Yast written in the Pāzand language similarly considers Ahriman Angra Mainyu the supposed mighty being as nothing as ignorant and incapable of doing anything Ahriman hich nadān o natawānad ba hich chir na shahed"

I have stated above that even when some later Avestan writers, *e g* in Saros Yast Hadokht Kardu 2 Saros Yast Vadi Kardu 7 and Farvardin Yast, para 70 have talked about the opposition between Spenta Mainyu and Angra Mainyu and have also spoken of the dāmān of these two opposing spirits they have not in any case lost sight of the highest state of Ahura Mazdā even though some confusion is there in their minds.

Is this really so? Or is it that the confusion lies with us, who have not been able to understand the meaning in the minds of these Avestan writers?

In Saros Yast and in Farvardin Yast, we come across the following sentence yat mainyu dāmān daidhitem yascha spento-mainyush yascha angrô. It has been ordinarily translated as when the two mainyus who are

Spenta-Mainyu and Angra-Mainyu created the creations.' In the abovementioned two Kardas of the Sarosh Yasts and immediately before the above sentence besides the mention of *mainyu*-dāman, we find mention made also of *Mazdāō* dāmān, meaning creations of Mazda Thus both Mazda and the two Mainyus have got their own 'creations'!

Similarly in the Farvardin Yast also besides the mention of the dāmān of the two mainyus in para 76, mention is made in para 77 of dāhim ashahe vangheush, meaning the creation of good Asha, which means the same as Mazdāō dāmān But the idea of daman (creations?) of the good and evil mainyus militates against Zarathustra's basic idea that Mazdā is the only Creator of dāmān, i e, of all creations Then what is the meaning of the dāmān given by the two mainyus Spenta-Mainyu and Angra-Mainyu?

How did the idea of the dāmān of the two Spirits start in the minds of the Avestan writers, and what is the possible meaning of this dāmān?

We can easily understand the meaning of mazdāō dāmān, that is, of the creations proper of Mazdā We know that Mazdā is the sole Creator of the Universe including men on this earth as well as of any sentient beings that may exist in other worlds Thus the mazdāō dāmān covers all possible creations and we cannot think of any other creation that is not included in the creations of Mazdā Then what is the nature of this peculiar dāmān of the two Spirits—Spenta-Mainyu and Angra-Mainyu? Perhaps this intriguing question would be immediately half solved if we ask the question why the necessity for two Spirits, instead of only one as in the case of mazdāō dāmān, for the mainyu dāmān, creations of the two mainyus, to be given by the two mainyus, one of whom is wholly good and the other is wholly evil At this juncture we revert to the twin mainyu of Yasnas 30 and 45, and again remind ourselves that the use

of the words spanyāō and angra in Yasna 45 of the Gāthās which were not understood in their proper meaning have given us in the Saros and Farvardin Yasts two mainyus specifically though mistakenly called Spenta Mainyu and Angra Mainyu. And now the question of the dāmān given by these two mainyus and of their correct meaning remains to be considered. We have already said that para 4 of Yasna 30 of the Gāthās states that the *twin*-mainyu when they came together (hem jasaetem) gave gaya and ajyāiti, meaning life that is, light or spiritual illumination and the absence of life light or spiritual illumination that is, mental darkness What did the two Mainyus—Spenta Mainyu and Angra Mainyu—of the Saros and the Farvardin Yasts similarly give? These Yasts merely state that these two mainyus who are Spenta Mainyu and Angra Mainyu (dāmān daidhitem) gave their own dāmān

The *twin* mainyu of Gāthic Yasna 30 are explicitly stated to have given as their dāmān the gaya and ajyāitim but the Saros and the Farvardin Yasts do not state what the dāmān of the *two* Mainyus are and what is the nature of this dāmān The Farvardin Yast however seems to give some insight into their meaning

The meaning of the dāmān given by the two Spirits of the Saros Yasts

In the Avestan literature Sraōsa has been always spoken of as 'frādat-gaethem as the furtherer of the gaethā We find that in the Saros Yasts immediately after the mention of the dāmān of Spenta Mainyu and Angra Mainyu, Sraōsa is called "hisharo ashahe gaethāō" meaning the protector of the gaethās of asha" that is of the gaethās of the holy

What is the nature and the meaning of the Gaethās of Asha"?

The words ashahe gaethāō have been translated as

meaning "*Worlds* of asha" This is clearly a mistake For we come across in the Gāthās and elsewhere such words as zām, būmi (Sansk bhūmi), perethvi (Sansk prithvi), hapto karshvairim zām, and bumiyāō haptaithe, to denote this *world* or this *earth* There is thus a clear difference in meaning between the word "gaethā" and the above words denoting this world or this earth In the Gāthās, the words 'gaethā' or 'ashahyā gaethāō' are often used The first mention of gaethāō occurs in Gāthic Yasna 31,1, where we find mention made of "ashahyā gaethāō" These words are repeated in Sraoš Yašt Hadōkht, Karda 2, and Sraoš Yašt Vadi, Karda 7, where, as already stated, Sraōša is mentioned as "hishārō ashahe gaethāō', as the protector of the gaethās of asha, that is, of the gaethāō of the pure or of the world of purity within men These gaethās of the pure are akin to the "Kingdom of God in men" mentioned in the Bible We are further told in para 11 of Gāthic Yasna 31, that "Mazdā made (tashō) daenāō, laws of the daenā, the religion for the furtherance of these gaethās, and that He gave at the same time khratu, kherad, intelligence, as well as 'astavantem ushtānem', that is, ushtāna for the astavat, material human life, and also senghā, admonitions for the proper conduct in life I have treated this subject of the gaethāō and daenāō at some length in my "ધાર્મિક વિષયો ફ્રવષીની ફીલસુફી", written in Gujarati, meaning, "Religious Discourses The Philosophy of the Fravashis" in the Gāthā Society Publication No XII, in the chapter on Fravashis and Platonic Ideas, where I have compared the "Republic" of Plato with the ashahiyā gaethāō of the Gāthās

The trend of my argument so far has been to show that the dāmān of Spenta-Mainyu and Angra-Mainyu of the Sraōšā Yašts are quite different from the dāmān, creations given by Mazdā and that the former merely represent the good and evil tendencies in a thinking human mind in the

same way as is indicated in the philosophy of the *twin mainyu* by Zarathushtra in Yasnas 30 and 45. And the meaning that I would assign to the "ushahyā gaethāo" both in the Gāthās and in the Avestā goes to substantiate the meaning of the philosophy of the Gāthic *twin*-mainyu. If the dāman of Mazda include all possible creations in the Universe, then as I have already stated, it is clear that the dāman given by the two spirits could not indicate anything of the nature of creations proper and can only represent the result of the interaction of the two opposing tendencies of a thinking human mind which alternatively gave gaya and ajyaiti. And we find exactly the same meaning in respect of the dāman of the two spirits in the Sraosha Yasht.

I have already stated that Sraosha has been considered as fradat-gaethem, i.e. the furtherer of the gaethās in the Avestan literature. In the 2nd karda of Sarosh Yasht Hadokht para 10 Sraosha is further considered as the hareta and aiwyākhshta, that is as the protector of "vīspayāo fravōish gaethayāo" i.e. of the furtherance of all the gaethās. In para 11 Sraosha is considered as preserving and protecting with watchfulness and *without sleeping* the Mazdāo dāman, i.e. the creations of Mazda, but according to para 12 Sraosha does not sleep *with any sound sleep* after (paschaeta) the Spenta Mainyu and Angra Mainyu gave their own dāman. Two facts have to be noted in this karda. First, Sraosha with watchfulness and *without sleeping* preserves and protects the dāman of Mazdā; but second, when it is a question regarding the protection of the "dāman of the two spirits," it is said that then Sraosha "*does not sleep with a sound sleep*." If, as one should always consider that in the Avestan writings not one word is out of place or is redundant, then we should note the important difference in meaning between the fact of Sraosha's protecting merely *without sleeping* the Mazdāo dāman and the

fact that Sraōša "*does not sleep with a sound sleep*" while protecting the dāmān of the two spirits. The working of the minds of thinking human beings is a very complicated affair and requires much greater care, and it is for this reason that Sraōša "does not sleep with a *sound* sleep" when Sraōša has to deal with the human mind And we must note that after making the above statement the writer of the Yašt immediately reminds us that Sraosha is the hishārō ashahe gaethāō, the protector of 'the world of purity' which is within the human heart

With these considerations in mind we may now finally say that the dāmān given by the two spirits, Spenta-Mainyu and Angra-Mainyu, can only have reference to human affairs, to the 'ashahe gaethāō', the world of purity in the hearts of men. We may well imagine that as time goes on, the 'aka' or the 'angra,' the evil tendency in the mind of man, will be subdued, the man will become more and more spanyāō, better and better and that somewhere in the future a time will come in the case of every individual human being when the evil tendencies will be finally overcome through the man's own exertions, when "sin will be no more," when the 'renovation of ahūm, human life—the Farshogard—will be complete, and the "Kingdom of God" will be firmly established in the heart of man

I have said that the word gaethā, wherever it appears in the Gāthās and in the Avestā, does not, as it is ordinarily translated, mean this world or this earth. I have already drawn attention to the fact that the ashahyā gaethāō mentioned in Gāthic Yasna 31, 1 as also in the two Sraōš Yasts do not and cannot mean worlds including this earth but that they can only mean the world of purity in the heart of men I have drawn a distinction between 'gaethāō' and 'ashahyā-gaethāō' and the meaning of the latter we have already ascertained

In Yasna 55, para 1, we come across the following

sentence vispāō gaethāōscha tanvascha azdebishcha ushtānascha kehrpascha tevishischa baodhascha urvanem cha fravashimcha pairicha dademahi etc meaning 'we dedicate all gaethās body etc to the Gāthās. All the nine beginning with gaethāō and ending with fravashi are considered to form the nine parts and attributes which go to make up a man And all these which go to make up a man are to be dedicated to the Gāthās Thus the gaethāō represent something which abides in the man himself It would be absurd to imagine that the gaethāō would represent either this world or this earth or any settlements made by human hands on this earth So also as I have suggested the ashahyā-gaethāō represent something which is in a man himself namely the world of purity in the heart of man

We thus see once again that the dāman given by the two mainyus Spenta Mainyu and Angra Mainyu can only mean the same as the ashahyā gaethāō in the heart of a man and not any special creations by the two mainyus over and above the Mazdāō dāman the creations of Mazda

As a further confirmation of the meaning of mainyu dāman as it is given by me let us now go back to Gāthic Yasna 31 1 where the ashahyā gaethāō have been for the first time mentioned in the Gāthās and where it is said that the urvātāush drūjo, the evil teachings of the druj pollute and destroy (vimerenchaite) the ashahyā gaethāō" We find that the Gāthic word vimerenchaite or some variant of it, with the same root meaning has been often used elsewhere in the Avestā in connection with ashahiyā gaethāō. For instance in the Kemna Mazdā prayer which is recited whenever we untie and retie the Kusti in that part of the prayer beginning with pāta no tbishyantat pairi and ending with mā merenchainish gaethāō astavaitish ashahe and which part is taken from Vendīdād Fargard 8 para 21 the word merenchainish has been used when speaking of the Gaethāō astavaitish ashahe. The man who

prays expresses his ardent desire that the druj— the cause of mischief in his body—may by removed from it in order that his ashahyā gaethāō, the world of purity in him, may not be any further polluted and destroyed Similarly in the Ardibehest Yast, which is wholly taken up with the idea of how to remove the druj, the cause of mischief, from the human constitution, we find that after preparing the patient for the final healing the mānthro-baeshazō, i.e., the man who heals with the recital of mathra, utters the words "apinasyāt drukhsh apakhedhre apa-nasyehe" meaning "may the drukhsh, the druj, be removed may it be removed towards the apakhtar" in order that 'ma merenchainish gaethao astvaitish ashahe,' "the ashahya gaethao may not be any further polluted and destroyed And with the recital of the above words, it is taken for granted that the druj has been removed, the patient has been healed and now, quite satisfied with the result, both the healer and the healed offer their thanks to the asha-vahishta and repeat the words mentioned in para 18 of the Yast 'ahe raya kharenanghacha zaōthrābyō ashem vahishtem sraeshtem ameshem spentem yazamaide," meaning " we worship with zaōthrās the asha vahishta the best beneficent immortal" In this connection a reference is solicited to my 'The Law of Suggestion and Self-suggestion in the Ardibehesht Yasht in the light of Modern Spiritualism" (Gāthā Society Publication No X) I have already drawn attention to the fact that in the Nirang of Ardibehest Yašt Ahriman has been considered as hich, of no account, and as nādān, ignorant, etc And we also find in that Nirang that the same epithet, 'marochinidar', meaning polluter, destroyer, has been applied to Ahriman, as it is applied to the druj in the Gāthās and in the Avestā In the same way, in Karda 2 of the Saroš Yašt Hadōkht where the mainyu dāmān of Spenta-Mainyu and Angra-Mainyu have been mentioned, we find the word 'merencho' used in connection with ahūm,

life human existence. Thus here also in Karda 2 of Sarosh Yasht Hadokht Sraosha Sarosh to which no epithet like Yazata Izad (ઈઝદ) has been applied or can be applied has been called hisharo ashahe gaethao meaning the protector of the Gaethas of Asha which are within the constitution of the human beings.

We have said enough on the meaning of the twin mainyu of the Gathas in Chapter 30 and 45 and have tried to show that they are not any two entities opposing one another but that they merely represent the two mentalities of a thinking human mind, at times good and at times evil and we are left in infer That a time will come in a near or a distant future either on this earth or in the Minoi existence after death when the evil tendencies will disappear or be merged into good in other words that the druj in the human constitution will be given over in the hands of Asha. This will be the time when man will be wholly pure and will be an Ashavan an Ashonar

It appears that the wrong interpretation of the Gathic twin mainyu persisted to a very late time and we therefore find in the Sassanian times that an attempt was made by those who called themselves Zravanists to remove the stigma from the Zoroastrian religion that there were in it two Gods one wholly good and the other wholly evil who were fighting continuosly for mastery among themselves The Zravanists therefore brought out a novel doctrine meaning that the Spenta Mainyu and the Angra Mainyu or Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu both took their rise from the Zravāne-Akerene Boundless Time from whom were produced both Hormuzd and Ahriman But this novel doctrine was not generally believed in by the Zoroastrians of the time, and it died a natural and early death in Iran It is however unfortunate that the black shadow of there being two Gods one wholly good and the other wholly evil in Zoroastrianism still persists

even in the present days in some part of the Zoroastrian community.

It is therefore, essential that a closer study of the Gathas of Zarathushtra should once again be made by the community and the motto of the community should be Back to the Gathas But this does not at all mean that the study of the Avestan writings, later in point of time, to the Gathas should in any time slightest way be neglected

TRIAL BY ORDEAL IN ANCIENT IRAN

By J C Tarapore M.A., LL.B

Man believed in the infallibility of divine justice in very early stages of his civilization His concept of a divinity always included justice as one of its attributes. This idea gave rise to a belief that one of the best methods of proving the innocence or guilt of an accused person was to invoke the divine or supernatural powers to decide the issue. Powers over which man had no ostensible control were soon utilized for the purpose and elaborate ceremonials were devised to clothe the trial with awe and respect. Thus originated what later came to be called trial by ordeal

Different countries are known to have held their ordeals in different ways. The methods employed by each nation varied in accordance with their ideas of divine justice and often depended on the genius of the priesthood who for long ages monopolized the performance of ordeals in their hands as fit interpretors of the divine law

Ordeals played an important part in the life of the Iranians of old. The trial of a culprit by means of his undergoing an ordeal by one of the recognized methods was prevalent in the system of administration of law in ancient Iran As the references to this method of trial in the Pahlavi *Dinkard* Book VIII amply bear out, the Avesta law books contained full instructions for holding ordeals for different purposes. Before we examine these in details let us see the references to this form of trial contained in our most ancient Avesta texts the Gâthâs.

In the Gâthâs we come across several passages in which there is a clear allusion to fire being used for the performance of ordeals during the times the sacred texts were composed *Yasna* XLVII § 6 refers to the sanctity and undisputed acceptance of the result of an ordeal in these words —

Tà dao spenta mainyu Mazda Ahura,
Áthra vanghau vidaite ranôibya
Ârmatôish debã-angha ashakhyacha,
Ha-î paouruish ishento vauraite.

Translation — O Mazda Ahura, by Thy bountiful spirit and through Thy fire Thou givest to the two contending parties (their reward) in accordance with the increase of good mindedness and righteousness, and that (just decision) is certainly fully approved by the disputants

Yasna LI, § 9, is more full of details —

Yãm khshnutem ranoibya dao thwa athra sukhra Mazda
Ayangha khshusta aibi ahuahu dakhshtem daiôi
Rashayanghe dregvantem savayô asharanem

Translation —Which joy, O Mazda! Thou givest to the contenders through Thy blazing fire and molten metal I announce to the world the injury to the wicked and profit to the pious

These two passages go to show that fire was used by the early Iranians for performing their ordeals and it decided the matter in dispute between two contending parties These people lived in a cold country and the sacred texts often refer to the hardships caused by the severe winters Fire was to them very essential for life and it must have soon become a holy symbol to be revered and honoured It was again a purifying agent for destroying the impurities of physical life Its use as a spiritual agent for removing falsehood and guile in the moral and religious sphere was only another step in the social life of the people It was the best agent for adjudging the guilt or innocence of a man on trial

One more passage found in *Yasna* XXXII, § 7, is of some interest as, while referring to the power of fire to find

out the guilt of a man, it also alludes to the use of fire as a purifying agent at the final resurrection of the dead —

Aeshâm aonangham naechit vidvâo aojôi hâdrôyâ

Yâ jôyâ senghaite yâish srâvi khaenâ ayanghâ

Yaesham tu Ahurâ irikhtem Mazdâ vaedishto ahi

Translation —None of these avengers is aware of what is called ordeals for confirming one's worth —out of which one is known as through the glittering bronze,[1] whose pouring O Ahura Mazda! Thou art most aware of

Coming to the later Avesta we have an isolated allusion to the *garemo varangh*[2] hot ordeal in the Avesta text of the *Afrin Gâhâmbâr* § 9 where a priest is said to be declaring a man guilty by this means if he does not contribute his share to the performance of the third *gâhâmbâr* or seasonal festival

The original Avesta literature was traditionally believed to be divided into twenty-one books or Nasks. These were in three groups the Gâthic, the Dâtic and the Hadha Mân thric The second or the Dâtic group consisted of the law books of ancient Iran Unfortunately for us all the Avesta texts of these Dâtic Nasks with the single exception of the Vendidâd, are lost. But a detailed summary of their contents is luckily preserved for us in the Pahlavi *Dinkard* Book VIII. (translated by the late Shams ul Ulema Dastur Dr Darab P Sanjana in his *Dinkard* Vols. XV and XVI and by the late learned Dr E. W West, in the Sacred Books of the East Series Vol XXXVII) The subject of ordeals was dealt with in these Dâtic Nasks in different

1. *Khaenâ ayanghâ* in this strophe can be well compared to *ayanghâ khshusta* in Yasna LI. § 9 cited above. Both phrases perhaps refer to the practice of using molten metal for the performance of an ordeal. Pahlavi texts constantly refer to the use of the same agent for purification at the time of the resurrection.

2. The Avesta word *varangh* which is used for an ordeal can be derived from the root *var* Sanskrit *var* 'to select

sections of the Nikâdum, the Husparam and the Sagatûm Nasks

In the first mentioned Nask one of the sections[1] related to assaults. There we are informed of the "aptness of an assault" being revealed by means of a *barcsma* ordeal or a fire-ordeal Occasions even now frequently arise in trying cases of assault where the court is often unable to decide on the evidence available to it whether the assault committed by an accused person was in self-defence or otherwise In such circumstances ordeals must have been resorted to in ancient Iran to establish the "aptness" of the assault

The next section[2] of the same Nask again refers to ordeals, and shows that different ordeals were prescribed according to the status of the man undergoing them[3] Venerable men and persons of good repute were not subjected to a trial by ordeal[4] Their word was perhaps regarded worthy of credence A watch was kept at the time of an ordeal to see that the effects of an ordeal were not avoided unlawfully Limbs of a person undergoing an ordeal were to be taken care of when they were subjected to an ordeal and formulæ were recited for their preservation[5] There were different dignitaries who were assigned their functions at an ordeal

Sometimes accused persons were made to undergo more than one ordeal, as coming out unscathed thrice is referred to[6] Special ordeals were prescribed for persons charged with more heinous offences[7] The quantity and quality of fire-wood used for an ordeal were laid down with exactitude[8]

1 See Dinkard Book VIII, Vol XV, Chapter XVIII, 38
2 *Ibid*, Chapter XIX. 1
3 *Ibid.*, Chapter XIX, 12
4 *Ibid*, 19
5 *Ibid*, 14
6 *Ibid*, 38
7. *Ibid.*, 40
8 *Ibid*, 41

Ordeals had to be performed in the presence of a certain number of qualified witnesses[1] The time for a hot or a cold ordeal was appointed by the presiding officer[2] A trial by ordeal could be claimed by a party at a certain stage of the judicial proceedings. The high priest (*magupatân magupat*) must be often presiding at such ordeals as the principal functionary[3]

Next Nask dealing with the subject of ordeals was the Huspâram Nask One of the sections of this Nask was devoted to the rituals for accomplishing an ordeal[4] But unlike other sections of the Dâtic Nasks beyond mentioning the subject the contents of this section are not given in details to enable us to know what these rituals were But in another section we are informed that a *yazishna* ritual was performed and the help of God invoked to give a proper decision[5] Perhaps Rashnu who was believed to be presiding over justice was also invoked to come to the ordeal, as very graphically stated in the Yasht dedicated to it.

One section of the Sagâtûm Nask was itself called *varistâna*[6] the ordeal code. Here we learn that trial by ordeal was mor frequently used in the administration of law in ancient Iran in certain types of cases enumerated in this section Cases of witchcraft killing a righteous man and other clandestine perpetration of sin have been mentioned[7] What types of misdemeanoures were included in the last category we are left uninformed A house was carefully selected as fit for the performance of an ordeal therein It was required to be circumscribed Rules were framed for taking things in the house so selected and in a definite order

1. See Dinkard Book VIII Vol. XV Chapte XIX 54.
2. *Ibid.*, 55.
3. *Ibid* 54
4. *Dinkard* Book VIII Vol. XVI Chapter XXXI.
5. *Ibid.* Chapte XLI 5.
6. *Dinkard* Book VIII Vol. XVI Chapter XLI.
7. *Ibid* 5.

People were not allowed to enter the house indiscriminately [1]

Persons were appointed as belonging to the institution of ordeals to perform functions assigned to them [2] Elaborate rules were also enacted to declare the result of an ordeal and perhaps certain time was allowed to elapse according to the nature of the ordeal employed to observe the effects on the accused person [3]

There is an interesting reference to ordeals in *Dinkard* Book VII, commonly known as the Pahlavi *Zarathushtra-namah* (See *Dinkard* Vol XIV, Chapter IV, 3-4) It is there narrated that one of the miracles of Zarathushtra was the performance of a fire ordeal, and it is then casually stated that there were 33 kinds of ordeals mentioned in the Religion The text then proceeds to narrate that this practice of undergoing an ordeal was observed by the disciples of Zarathushtra and one of the modes of performing an ordeal was to pour molten brass over a person as was done by Âdarbâd Mâhraspend, (the renowned high-priest of the time of Shahpur II 309-380 A D) By his thus successfully undergoing the ordeal of fire the knowledge of and faith in the good religion spread among people throughout the world, and after the miracle even wicked people began to have faith in ordeals

There are several references to trial by fire-ordeal in another Pahlavi text, the *Selections of Zatsparam* It is narrated in this text that when Zarathushtra had his conferences with the archangels he was made to pass through a fire-ordeal, by pouring molten metal on his chest [4] He was unharmed and established his righteousness and fitness for the mission which was to be assigned to him of propagating the true religion Ahura Mazda then told Zarathushtra

1 Dinkard Book VIII, Vol XVI, Chapter XLI, 4

2 *Ibid*, 5

3 *Ibid*, 6

4 See *Vichitakîhâ î Zâtsparam*, XXII 11-12

to advise his disciples to use this test whenever a heretic cast any doubt about the tenets of the good religion According to the *Bûndahisna* a final ordeal will be performed at the time of the resurrection The dead which shall rise at the time will be made to pass through a bath of molten metal The wicked will feel the effects of heat as a punishment for them while the good will feel as if they were having a bath of warm milk. All will then be purified spiritually and evil will be finally annihilated.[1]

Thus we see that fire-ordeals were very much in use in ancient Iran. We have already noted the instances of such ordeals undergone by Zarathushtra and Âdarbâd Mâhraspend as narrated by Pahlavi writers The great epic poet Firdausi gives us one more instance in his *Shâhnâmah* Young prince Siâvush was accused by Queen Sudâbeh of a very foul offence The prince protested his innocence. His father King Kâus found himself in a dilemma. He could not find any way to solve his doubts. He was then advised that either Siâvush or Sudâbeh should undergo a fire-ordeal as it was ordained by heaven that the innocent was never harmed in such an ordeal[2] Sudâbeh declined to submit herself to an ordeal But Siâvush who knew himself to be innocent offered to pass through a "mountain of fire." And a "mountain of fire" was verily constructed! Hundred camels brought firewood from the forest Two mountains or piles of wood arose so high that they could be seen from a distance of two *frasangs*[3] The path left open between the two piles was just sufficient to allow a horseman to pass through. Black naphtha oil was poured on the wood and two hundred men

---

1. See *Bundahisna*, XXX. 18-19.

2. ز هر در سخن چون برین گونه گشت * بر آتش یکی را بباید گذشت
چنین است سوگند چرخ بلند * که بر بیگناهان نیاید گزند

3. صد کاروان اشتر سرخموی * همی هیزم آورد پرخاشجوی
نهادند هیزم دو کوه بلند * شمارش گذر کرد بر چون و چند
ز دو راز دو فرسنگ هرکس بدید * چنین جست باید بلا را کلید

set fire to the wood turning night into day.[1] At first smoke and then flames arose in the air. The young prince then appeared before his father clad in white clothes and having a golden helmet on his head.[2] He sat on his black charger and as if going to his last resting place he got camphor applied to his body. He was cheerful and calm as if he was going to his abode in heaven. Siâvush then prayed to God and seeking His help to prove his innocence he plunged himself and his horse into the heart of that blazing inferno. For a time the horse and rider disappeared in the enveloping flames.[3] But the onlookers were not kept in their awful suspence very long. Siavush came out laughing and cheerful quite unscathed out of the fiery ordeal.[4] People raised a cry of joy. The King was also pleased at finding his beloved son proved innocent of the charge levelled against him.

In the Indian epic *Ramayana*, we get the story of a similar ordeal by fire undergone by the virtuous Sitâ. After the fall of Lankâ, Rama her husband cast some doubt on her chastity during the period of her captivity with Ravana. Sitâ vindicates her honour by coming out unscathed through the fire prepared for her as a funeral pyre. We are allegorically told in this poem that it was Agni, the god of fire who raised Sitâ from the flames and restored her to her lord, Râma, publicly attesting her purity. The Hindu Law-giver Manu refers in his code to a similar ordeal undergone by Vatsa, when he was accused by his younger step-brother, Maitreya, of his being born of a Sudra or low

1 بس آنگاه فرمود پرمایه شاه * کہ بر حوت ریزند نعط سیاه
بیامد دو صد مرد آتش فرور * دمیدند گفتی شب آمد برور

2 سیاوس بیامد بر پیش پدر * یکی خود زرین نهاده بسر
هشیوار با جامهای سفید * لبی پر ز خنده دلی پر امید

3 سیاوش سیه را بدانسان بتاخت * تو گفتی اسپش باتش بساخت
ز هر سو زبانه همی بر کشید * کسی خود و اسپ سیاوش ندید

4 ز آتش برون آمد آزاد مرد * لبان پر ز خنده برخ همچو ورد

caste woman Vatsa went through fire to prove the falseness of the allegation and as Manu describes "the fire the spy of the world did not harm even a hair of his by reason of his veracity"[1]

Manu in his code lays down that the action of the powers of nature is suspended so that the innocent do not suffer "He whom the flame does not burn or whom the water does not cast up or whom no harm befals is to be taken as truthful in his oath"[2]

The method employed in ancient Iran of pouring molten metal on the person of the accused undergoing an ordeal may be compared to the system prescribed in certain Hindu codes of making a man carry red hot iron seven steps and then examining his hands to see if they show signs of burning Among the ancient Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon peoples there was a custom to make the accused walk over nine heated ploughshares to test his innocence Grimm narrates of an ordeal by fire undergone by Richardis, wife of Charles the Fat, (one of the rulers of the Holy Roman Empire 882-888 A.D.) to prove her innocence to her doubting husband.[3]

In course of time fire ordeals lost their importance in Iran and other ordeals came into use. In the Nikâdum Nask the *baresma*-ordeal is described as the best, and the

1. See Manu, VIII. 116.

2. See Manu VIII. 115. As pointed out by Prof. Bühl in the introduction to his edition of Manu, (Sacred Books of the East, Vol XXIV pp. cl-cii) the want of details regarding ordeals in the Cod of Manu is significant. Manu gives more details about oaths than about ordeals. The later and less important law books of Yâgnavalkiya and Nârada described five kinds of ordeals and also gave full description of the manner in which the ordeals were performed.

3. Travellers have reported of some other methods f holding ordeal by fire in different parts of th world. I som parts of Africa the negr was made to dip his hand in a cauldron of boiling oil and take out ring f om it In Burma melted lead was used to test the veracity of a person. Burckhardt noticed a practice among the Bedouins of Arabia of making opposi g witnesses lick a glowing red hot iron spoon to find out if they were giving true evidence.

heat ordeal as the least[1] How were these *baresma*-ordeals performed? No details are furnished in the text The twigs of the *baresman* tree were used by priests in their sacred rituals and it must have acquired a sanctity in the eyes of the people The ordeal possibly consisted in making the accused swear holding the twigs in his hands. It was perhaps believed that he incurred the ire and displeasure of the divine powers if he took a false oath While alluding to ordeals Manu also stated that the judge may cause the party "severally to touch the heads of his wives and children" instead of undergoing a fire or water ordeal[2] Even now a pious Hindu would not lightly take a false oath if he were made to swear holding the holy water of the Ganges in his hands

The *baresma*-ordeal may also be a form of the poison ordeal found being used among people in different lands very widely apart The Pahlavi word *baresmanag-vara* can also be read *barg-i-mang-vara*, which term Dasturji Darab interprets as "the ordeal by use of the leaves of *mang*", (a narcotic Av *banga*, Skr. *bhang*)[3] The learned Dasturji also draws attention to a passage in the Pahlavi text of the *Dādistan ī-Dīnīq*, Purshishna XXXVI § 74, wherein reference is made to the use of an irritating poison between two litigants But in the very passage it is suggested that in such ordeals a fraud could be practised

An early example of ordeal by poison is described in the Holy Bible. In the Book of Numbers Chapter V., 17, God commands Moses to test the chastity of a married woman by making her take a drink prepared thus —"And the priest shall take holy water in an earthen vessel, and of the dust that is on the floor of the tabernacle the priest shall take and put it into water, . and the priest shall have in

1 See *Dinkard* Book VIII, Vol XV, Chapter XIX, 66
2 See Manu, VIII, 114
3 *Dinkard* Vol XV, pp. 55 56 of the English translation footnote 13 13.

his hand the bitter water that causet the curse It is then stated that this "bitter water" when taken by the woman did her no harm if she was chaste

Different tribes of Africa are known to be widely using poison for the purpose of testing the guilt or innocence of a person accused. Bark of certain known poisonous trees or their fruit is pounded and juice extracted from it. Certain solemn rites are performed by the sorcerer or witch-doctor over this juice to give some sanctity to the ceremonial It is then administered either to one or both the contesting parties It is believed that the innocent suffers no evil effects Very often it is in the hands of the sorcerer to produce the result desired by him by varying the strength of the poisonous decoction.

In the old Iranian literature we are not furnished with any details as to how the cold ordeals were performed though they are specifically mentioned in the summary of the Dâtic Nasks already quoted Instead of fire and hot metal used in the hot ordeals water must be the principal medium employed in the cold ordeals Manu in the passage cited above speaks of the man being innocent whom "water does not cast up. Perhaps the custom was similar to that prevailing in certain parts of Europe where the accused was thrown into water with bound hands and feet. Water received him if innocent, but he floated up if he was guilty To avoid an innocent life being lost by drowning a rope was later tied to the man and if he did not come up he was pulled up and his life saved. In the Middle Ages this was the familiar test applied to witches and those charged with sorcery The practice of "ducking those suspected of witchcraft even in recent times must be a relic of the old water ordeal

The institution of ordeals had its place and importance in a system of administration of justice where the judges recognized their limitations in deciding cases of a doubtful nature where the evidence was not quite convincing In

order to set at rest doubts so arising, ordeals were resorted to But as the system of justice progressed and canons and rules were laid down for deciding cases of a doubtful nature, appeal to the supernatural powers by means of an ordeal became less frequent The administration of special oaths to a party or a witness is perhaps the last remnant of this ancient form of trial The code of Manu has already foreshadowed this when it lays down elaborate rules for taking special oaths while only casually referring to ordeals In the Avesta, Mithra is assigned the function of guarding all oaths and promises, and woe to the man who lied unto Mithra The awful consequences of incurring Mithra's wrath, (as described in the *Mihir Yasht*) would make a man hesitate from taking a false oath[1] In spite of our advanced system of administration of justice occasions often arise when a party cannot adduce any evidence in support of his case Solace is often sought by a party so placed, by administering some special oath to his opponent and leaving it to the supernatural powers to punish the man if he took a false oath As in the ordeals of old, people still believe that if a man took a false oath he invited on himself the wrath and vengence of God, swift and certain

---

1 See *Yasht*, X , 18 19, 88, 128 seq

THE EVOLUTION OF IRANIAN LAW

Rustam J J Modi Bar-at-Law

Law of the land has always been and is the very life-blood and existence of a nation as a nation in the comity of big proud enlightened well-disciplined nations of the world

Thus discipline rule of law and the sense of justice and right in an individual go to prove that these qualities are the real key notes of the greatness and prosperity of a nation of whom that particular individual is an integral part.

To restore to the world the precious human heritage of freedom right and justice upon which our civilisation is based is one of the most essential and principal duties of Law and Lawyers.

The power-drunk military giants of old were as are the war lusting Dictators of today subject to the rigours of the law and the discipline dictated by powerful public opinion although having drunk deeply at the fountain of unlimited power and authority conferred upon them by those who were under their rule they non chalantly declare that they are the masters of all they survey

For by no conceivable stretch of imagination however misguided, can it be pretended that the Rulers of the people wherever it may be are absolutely above Law For instance take the case of the Soviet Dictator Stalin now reaching his deadly tentacles further everyday from the Baltic to the Balkans Even he has got to be on the right side of his great military Commanders for his support and try to win over to himself the approval of his entire subjects for whatever he does in the name of the great Russian dominions So it is in fitness of things that the

misdeeds of a leader of men, however highly placed, cannot be other than offensive to all sense of principle, to all ideas of decency and which are no doubt, the second cousins, if not the first, of Law, and whatever stands in the name of Law

The principal and all pervading object of Law is to afford to the people protection against external aggression and enable development of popular progress and prosperity One of its main functions is also to regulate the relationships between party and party amongst men as also to make it possible for individuals to enjoy and exercise the exclusive right of property and possessions in juxtaposition with those of their other fellow-men As with the Civil, so with the Criminal Law, the ruling idea is to allow full latitude to an individual to enjoy his limb, life and liberty as freely, and as much without let or hindrance, from any one else, as possible The divergence one discerns, on the surface, between the ancient and the modern Laws, both Civil and Criminal, is that, whereas the predominant factor in the philosophy of the ancient Law-givers, was that the real object of the Law is to have a tooth for a tooth, and an eye for an eye, the modern reasoning as regards the working of the Law is to adjust the relative rights between parties In other words, unlike the ancient laws, modern laws lay down and recommend that the ultimate object of Law must be "reclamation" and not "revenge"

We moderns are apt to think that, we are, in these days, presented with an altogether new institution, viz, the Portias of modern days But one could almost say, that Portia-ism, if one may be permitted to coin that word, is an age-old institution, and not modern, as we are apt to believe It may be that it had fallen into desuetude for a long period of time, only to be revived, as other worldly things are, after a long lapse of time We are aware that "Portia" was known to Shakespeare, so was she, in ancient

Sassanian times according to the teachings of "Matikan i Hazar Datastan" which has been so ably and laboriously translated by one of our most keenly-enthusiastic deeply learned mild mannered and devastatingly shy and indefatigable scholar Mr Sohrab Jamshedji Bulsara M. A. According to Mr Bulsara "Farrokho-Mart the son of Vahram was its learned compiler and this Vahram as surmised by Mr Bulsara and others is probably the same great jurist, who is often quoted in the work.

Vahram in one place, as Mr Bulsara says is quoted to have noted an incident of the life of a great jurist Atro-Farzhkar who was his contemporary or just preceded him in which some Iranian ladies who had been discussing law among themselves had requested his opinion on some matters in which they had differed This incident could not apply to any but the days when Iran was yet independent and her womenfolk were free and enlightened beings

But when one realises the very idea and basis of individual freedom are at stake and in gravest peril of destruction by the infamous machinations of a warring neighbour or any other persons the Law in all its majesty and triumphant glory steps in to do justice to the aggrieved party one fact stands out as plain as a pikestaff that righteousness and right are always be friended by the Law of the land

With the inflexible resolve of civilised nations steeled and strengthened by the righteous consciousness of those who are defending principles fundamental to human existence happiness and justice, Kings and Emperors are always apt to assert the authority and majesty of the Law even in the face of all odds and oppositions. Wars for the establishment of justice and right have been waged again and again in the world s history always with the same inevitable result. As is the common human experience the age-old battle between right and wrong might and justice,

liberty and oppression is constantly being waged in human society

It is an almost superhuman task to apply abstract principles of right and wrong to the tangled skein of human affairs

They say that "Efficiency" is a jewel, of brightest ray serene The "Efficiency" of Law, therefore, wherever its course may lie, is still more valuable and still more dazzling gem and jewel of which there can never be a peer, in this world False of heart, bloody of hand fox in cunning, and wolf in greed a plaintiff whenever, in his insatiable ambition tries to devour what is his opponent's, is most certainly baulked of his illicit gain by the long arm of the Law, as was also done, even in the Sassanide times, according to Mr Bulsara Till this state of individual insecurity is replaced by an atmosphere of civilised relationships governed by the principles of justice, right and law, there cannot and will not reign over this world the purest ray serene of justice in its full-dress majesty

The world would be a very sorry place, and life but misery if humanity did not strive for nobler things by constant effort Better to perish in the struggle to educate and elevate the world, than not to strive at all *Proverbs,* they say, *are the Crystallised wisdom of age-old human experience* And so what proverb would be more reasonable and advisable to follow, than the one, which says, that whom the gods would destroy they first make mad The lesson, that this laudable proverb teaches us, is that only that man, who is destined by Fate to be ruined and destroyed, loses his balance and maintains perpetual wrath and animosity, which is akin to the practice and temper of devils, and thus feels impelled, propelled and compelled to vice, terrorism, injustice and unhappiness The Law of the land, wheresoever it may be, is looked upon as the deadly foe of the tyrants, the law-breakers, thieves, sex-perverts, and marauders and

murderers The law breakers by common consent, are the demonide enemies of humanity and its advanced civilisation The guiding principle which rules the Code of law-givers is that liberty, honour and character are to be valued more than power lust, greed and banditry The adage "Render unto Cæsar what is Cæsar's" is not more strictly dominating the minds of the present day lawyers and jurists as it did those of the ancients

Peace which is virtuous and more than a match for the blandishments of seductive bribes and machinations of the human monsters ought to be the key note of the workings of all law-givers whether Oriental or Occidental No wonder they say to read great minds is to soar and scale unknown peaks of thoughts at once lofty towering grand and majestic. Because philosophers have said that the turn and twist of great minds on ordinary thoughts kindles the erstwhile dark corners of your minds with extraordinary blue spot lights I think *Tennyson* it was who said How long O God shall men be ridden down and trampled under by the last and least of men" Here if we would be permitted to say so what Tennyson really means to say is this. That men who are down and out and ground down under the troubles and tribulations of the world fighting with their backs to the wall and finding even the wall turned into a new foe with their homes destroyed their industries wrecked and themselves converted into a panic-stricken rabble are expected to find a sanctuary somewhere on this planet. And as Tennyson says it must be the Law of the land and that alone Even Tennyson, if we read his mind rightly seems to think that the origin of all troubles that men are subjected to are the political swashbucklers and braggarts who as the so-called leaders of men are out to feather their own nests at the expense of the people under their charge. According to a great politician a world commonwealth embracing all nations and kindreds and tongues is the goal at which we must aim

before we can hope to move to a higher plank of civilisation The placid ease and comforting leisure of law givers sitting in their palatial offices are sometimes envied by the general public But little do the public think that the idea lest they would omit taking to their benevolent bosom the well-being of the minorities and other speechless illiterates in the State is galling to them And to that extent the lot of the law-givers is more to be pitied than anything else We have all heard the oft-repeated trite legal phrase "*Justice should be tempered with mercy*" This legal maxim we regret to say, is observed more in the breach than in its observance Because kindness is the greatest redeemer of the law-breakers, if it is properly applied in really emergent cases. For we know that Kindness has the effect of the balm it soothes suffering, softens pride, dissipates selfishness and exorcises bad temper

If we agree in the proposition that to maintain perpetual wrath is akin to the practice and temper of devils, the proper attribute of angels viz forgiveness and kindness should be upheld.

To prevent and suppress rising resentment is wise and glorious, is manly and divine In war as in peace, the State is supreme, and however unsatisfactory and hastily improvised the laws may be, the legal structure and the fundamental principle of the constitution of the State should be scrupulously maintained The ancients were, as are the moderns now, always anxious for the preservation of their hearth and home, their belongings and their possessions of the world Naturally enough, therefore, there existed, in those far off days, as they do now, in modern times, dictates of law and order to safeguard the people from being deprived of what belonged to them Unlike the Kings of today, the great King presided over and guided the destiny of the Iranian nation. The lawyer's role was generally performed by a Dastobar, though ordinary lawyers and attorneys too were

allowed to represent or defend cases coming before them That is why Mr Bulsara says that it is apparent that the more ancient civilization of Iran China India and Egypt should have had earlier systems of law

The Books of Law dealt with Court and Magisterial Law Law of Accusations Law for Injuries to Person and Property Laws pertaining to Theft Church Law Family Law and Law of Pedigree Law of Business Transactions in relation to property Laws relating to Debt and Interest The above-mentioned are only a few portions of the vast field of Law in Ancient Iran as they are also understood in the modern times in all civilized nations

Unlike the Roman Judges who were not well versed in Law the Judges and Magistrates had to know Law very perfectly themselves, says Mr Bulsara The proper balance of logic and correct judgment were always the key notes of Iranian Justice It seem that the Iranian Judges and Magistrates went through almost the same identical formalities as have to be observed by Judges and Magistrates in all the civilized nations of the world, at the present moment. The Law in ancient Iran was divided into heads and sub-heads, as in modern times That Law in Iran had its Bench of Judges and Assessors Law in Iran had even its contempt of Court, and its Ecclesiastical Courts as well In old Iran says Mr Bulsara the joint family system prevailed in the general mass of the population which approximates very closely to the Hindu Joint Family System The ancient Iranians had their Law of Divorce their Registration their Deeds and Documents their Property Law their Intestate Succession the Testamentary Succession and their Wills Act They also had their Executors and Administrators their Trusts and Trustees They also had their own Law of Purchase and Sale Great sanctity was attached to the strict observance of the law of Evidence as is prevalent in modern jurisprudence. For instance

in a case between husband and wife, serious objection was taken to husband and wife bearing witness against each other, and obstacles were put in their way against their doing so In a case of Divorce also, as is shown by Mr Bulsara, it could not be granted without proper reason It is very significant to note that Marriages contracted with non-Iranians by some of the ancient Iranians were disapproved of As well stressed by Mr Bulsara both Law as well as Religion were opposed to such practice A mention is made by Mr Bulsara of the lofty and exalted position attached to Mothers and Sisters, in the ancient Iranian family While the attitude of the Iranians to their wives was so elevating and noble, still more thrilling and divine was their behaviour towards their mothers and sisters The high esteem of motherhood and filial piety continued through all ages of Iranian history Thus those are certain typical instances of Iranian refinement and of the high and nice manners that prevailed in those days While both religion and law allowed the Iranian only one wife, still there are certain unavoidable circumstances in which departure was made from the ordinary routine This is little to be wondered at, as is rightly observed by Mr Bulsara, when we know that Law-abidingness is one of the most meaningful of the names of the Supreme Being in Zoroastrian Theology The ancient Iranians, as we have every reason to believe, possessed codified laws from the most primitive times and that seven of their twenty-one holy books, treated of a huge field of law which covered much more domains than the laws of other nations did

The world-renowned Western Jurists, Bentham and Austin say that Law is "a command issued by a sovereign to his subjects, imposing an obligation or Duty, attended by a penalty, or sanction in case of breach or disobedience". Law, then, in common parlance is a rule for man's conduct in various circumstances of life, circumvented partly by the

connivance at and partly by the resentment of his acts on the part of the State having in view at all times the common good of society at large. Had it not been for the magic spell of all-conquering Law the ship of human progress and civilization would have dashed itself long since against the ugly rocks of disorder and chaos and would thus have put human life on no better footing than that of lower animals It is really speaking at the fountain of Law that Science Literature Politics and the other arts derive their inspiration Civil Law deals with the rights of persons and the withhold ing and the forefeiture of them from one another Criminal Law on the other hand deals with the breach of the rules of good conduct and mutual trust and with the harm and injury done to the bodies of men In short, Criminal Law is the custodian of their property their lives and their liberty

Hallam writes "No unbiassed observer who derives pleasure from the welfare of his species can fail to consider the long and uninterruptedly increasing prosperity of a nation as the most beautiful phenomenon in the history of mankind"

A few striking points of comparison between the Law as it stands at present and the Law that ruled in ancient Iran

De Lolme says It is a fundamental principle with English lawyers, that Parliament can do everything but make a woman a man and a man a woman

In ancient Iran the King and the King alone had the legal means of intimating sanctioning and repealing the legislation of Law of Medes and Persians change not the country

Blackstone says that the law of nature being coeval with mankind and dictated by God himself is of course superior in obligation to any other It is binding over all the globe in all countries and at all times, no human laws are of any validity if contrary to this and such of

them as are valid derive all that force and all that authority, mediately or immediately, from this original '

The authority even of a despot depends and that very greatly upon the willingness of his subjects to obey his precepts A sovereign, in order to make his laws popular, should rather go with his people in all their moods than that he should at all times be wholly untouched by their opinions, feelings and sentiments The constitution of Ancient Iran of which the King himself was, to all intents and purposes, the only real fountainhead, was "flexible, rather than "rigid' in so far as the King himself could make and unmake his own laws at his pleasure, without experiencing the least difficulty in doing so The rigidity of a constitution tends, undoubtedly to check gradual innovation

England, of all the countries of the world, is the proud possessor of an almost perfect system of laws, which presents a profitable lesson to other countries with regard to a constitution In England, every official from the Prime Minister down to a constable or a collector of taxes, is under the same responsibility for every act done without legal justification, as any other citizen Of course it has to be admitted that under the complex conditions of life, in modern times no government in times of disorder or War, can keep the peace at home, or perform its duties towards foreign nations, without the occasional use of arbitrary power

The "Martial Law' of our times which ought to conduce to the public welfare and peace, was centred, at all times, in Ancient Iran, in the all-powerful King, and in him alone

As regards the Civil Law and the civil contracts entered into by parties, it is well-known, that once an Iranian gave his word to bind himself to a particular contract, he preferred death, so to say, to being compelled to go out of his contract There were no distinct courts of justice

and judges attached to them as in modern times. The King himself sat in judgment together with his learned courtiers and distributed justice to his subjects The King himself presided at the meeting of his learned courtiers when they sat in judgment to try issues between subject and subject, and thus earned for himself the title of the Chief Justice of his own realm The parties trusted him implicitly for the solution of their differences They revered him as their benefactor But it was the great moral exhortation in general imparted to the Iranian children from their tenderest age that made the idea of doing a wrong or telling a lie extremely repugnant to their feeling and sense of shame and to their family pride and honour Again the idea inculcated in the mind of an Iranian child that to borrow something of another was a great wrong nay an unpardonable sin made the child grow up to be a man with the idea in his head that he would be doomed to an everlasting misery Being thus taught to be an enemy of borrowing an Iranian child naturally practised thrift and being a confirmed votary of thrift, he kept himself quite safe from the clutches of the Civil Law

As regards the integrity and veracity of the Ancient Iranians the remarks of Sir H. Rawlinson be profitably quoted He says "Among moral qualities, we must assign to the Persians as their most marked characteristics at any rate in the earlier times courage energy and a regard for truth The Persian love of truth was a favourite theme with the Greeks who were perhaps, the warmest in their praises from a latent consciousness of their own deficiency in the virtue"

Herodotus says "The Persians had a keen sense of the difficulty with which a debtor escapes subterfuge and equivocation forms slightly disguised of lying"

As regards the unique position of the Persian Sovereign vis-a-vis his subjects, the pertinent remarks of Sir H Rawlinson are very illuminating He says "In Persia the monarch was so much the state, that patriotism itself was, as it were, swallowed up in loyalty, and an absolute unquestioning submission, not only to the deliberate will, but to the merest caprice of the sovereign, was, by habit and education, so ingrained into the nature of the people that a contrary spirit scarcely ever manifested itself In war the safety of the sovereign was the first thought, and the principal care of all The sovereign was their lord and master, absolute disposer of their lives, liberties and property, the sole fountain of law and right, incapable himself of doing wrong, irresponsible, irresistible - a sort of God upon earth, one whose favour was happiness, at whose frown men trembled, before whom all bowed themselves down with the lowest and humblest obeissance"

The provisions of the Civil Law hardly ever came into use, because consequent upon the extreme contempt which the Iranians expressed for trade and commerce, there were not many contracts, and consequently not many suits either The richer classes made it their boast that they neither bought nor sold, being supplied (we must suppose) from their estates, and by their slaves and dependents, with all that they needed for the common purposes of life Persians of the middle rank would condescend to buy, but considered it beneath them to sell The reason assigned for this low estimation of trade was that shopping and bargaining involve the necessity of falsehood

Rawlinson quotes different crimes that came under the Criminal Law of Ancient Iran He says "Coming into the King's presence unsummoned was a capital crime, punished by the attendants with instant death, unless the monarchy himself, as a sign that he pardoned the intrusion, held out towards the culprit the golden sceptre which he bore in his

hands. It was also a capital offence to sit down even unknowingly, upon the royal throne and it was a grave mis-demeanor to wear one of the King s cast-off dresses

Theoretically it is said the Persian was never to be put to death for any one crime At least he was not to suffer the sentence of death until the King himself had reviewed the whole tenor of his life and struck a balance between his good and evil deeds to see which outweighed the other

In the Criminal Code of ancient Iran death was made the penalty for murder rape, treason and rebellion and even for such offences as accepting bribes for deciding a case wrongfully intruding on the King s privacy approaching near to one of his concubines seating oneself, even accidentally on the throne etc. Prisoners were punished by having their heads placed upon a broad stone and then having their faces crushed and their brains beaten out by repeated blows with another stone. Ravishers and rebels were put to death by crucifixion. In the satrapy of Younge Cyrus it was common to see along all the most frequented roads numbers of persons who had their hands or feet cut off or their eyes put out, as a punishment for thieving and rascality

The Vendidad which has come down to us intact from remote antiquity is the only Parsi religious book which deals mainly with the Law of Crimes as it existed in Ancient Iran. The very existence of the Law of Crimes in Ancient Iran proves that Iran in those days was not far below the modern standard of civilization The word Vendidad" comes from [illegible] + [illegible] + [illegible] *vi-dāv-dāt*" meaning literally against the Law of Ahriman i e the Devil (Law opposed to the Daev Law) That is a Law or teaching or Code of Daevas. The Vendidad which is supposed to have been written about 3000 years ago mentions some offences known to the Ancient Iranians and the penalties prescribed for them Thus the Vendidad deals with offences against religion and morality in particular

The Dadistan-i-Dinik (precepts of religion) also deals, in its own way, with the sins of drunkenness, unlawful lust, adultery, etc, besides dealing with religious and spiritual subjects As religion, in Ancient Iran, was looked upon as the key-note and the very life-blood of the State, a transgression against religion was visited by far greater punishment than any other ordinary offence According to Mr Pestonji Kuverji Motivala "There are certain offences which are unatonable (anaperetha), such as the cremation and burial of dead bodies, unnatural offence, and others Such offenders in this world are considered unclean for ever and ever and it is only after death that they are punished with the torments of Hell That such offenders as the burner of a corpse, and the Committee of an unnatural offence, if caught red-handed, may be killed on the spot with impunity, by any man Falsehood and dishonesty are put in the same category as a breach of contract According to the Vendidad (Chap 4, sec 55), a deliberate falsehood is visited by a punishment of 700 Upazanas Upazana literary means a stripe or a blow It is derived from Avesta [illegible] to strike (Chap 4, secs 11-16) of the Vendidad make different breaches of contract punishable with as many as 300, 600, 700, 800, 900 and 1000 Upazanas A man, by such ignoble breaches of conduct not only debases himself, but brings his whole family into disrepute

Vendidad, Chap 4, sec 17, mentions three such offences as can be found only in modern books on the Law of Torts and Crimes They are

1 If a man rises up to smite a man, he commits an "Agērēpta"

2 If a man flies at another, he commits an "Avaoirishta"

3. If a man maliciously smites a man, he commits an "Arēdūsha"

All these three offences are punishable with a graduated scale of Upazanas according to how often they are knowingly and persistently repeated

Vendidad (Chap. 4 secs. 30-32) makes the causing of a sore wound to another liable to a punishment of 30 Upazanas if the wound is caused for the first time If a blow given is so severe as to break a bone, the punishment is 70 Upazanas (Vendidad Chap 4 Secs. 37 38) If the blow renders the injured man senseless the punishment for it is 90 Upazanas (Vendidad Chap 4 Secs 40 41) Death is prescribed as a punishment for two crimes only namely

1 one who cleanses the unclean or those infected with a pestilential disease without his being conversant with the rites of cleansing in accordance with the Law of Mazda (Vendidad Chap. 9 sec. 47) and

2. one who carries a corpse alone (Vendidad Chap. 3 sec. 14)

The spirit of Zoroastrian religion is that the world is for the benefit of all and not one or two individuals and thus it is that so heinous a crime as homicide is let off comparatively cheaply while the other two last mentioned though seemingly trifling are visited with the strictest of punishments It is remarkable how the ancient Iranians were particular in laying down different punishments for different crimes, in proportion to their heinousness whereas they utterly neglected to lay down any definite and easily workable rules to judge of the rights of one man against another In fact it leads one to believe that there was no definite Civil Law in the right sense of the word in ancient Iran That shows how dearly they loved freedom of the person because we note that the slightest injury to the human body was strictly prohibited According to the spirit of the Vendidad not only killing dogs but even giving them bad food was considered as an offence because the dog

was the protector of the sheep and cattle, perhaps the only movable property of any value, were usually placed under the watch of strong dogs for fear of wolves and other ferocious animals So it was that the killer of a shepherd's dog committed a serious offence punishable with 800 Upazanas (Vendidad, Chap 13, Sec 12). Hence it is that, even in modern times, the dog plays a very important part in some of the ceremonies of the Parsis in India, such as the Bareshnum ceremony In fact, the sanctity of the dog among Parsis is traceable from very remote antiquity Even among the different nations of modern Europe the dog is looked upon as the most favourite of all animals excepting the horse As an English poet says .—

"With eyes uplift, his master's look to scan,
The guide, the solace, and the aid of man,
The rich man's guardian, the poor man's friend,
The only creature faithful to the end"

The Vendidad (Chap 16, sec 17) says that cohabitation with a woman in menses is strictly prohibited, as it is injurious to both the parties The act is considered as sinful as the act of a man who burns his own son in fire According to the Vendidad (Chap 16, secs 14-16) it is punishable with from 30 to 90 Upazanas The Vendidad (Chap 15, Sec. 8) considers the offence of cohabiting with a pregnant woman to be a tanafur (200 Upazanas) It is because such cohabitation would result in injuries to both the mother and the embryo It is so remarkable to note that the ancient Persians left no stone unturned to keep their morality and national pride, which, by the way, is almost in tact even at the present time at their highest water-mark The Vendidad is quite at one with the modern Criminal Law in that they both punish very strictly, offences of adultery and abortion The Vendidad (Chap 15, Secs 9-14) lays down that if a man by sexual intercourse with a maiden makes

her quick with child and if the girl causes miscarriage by some drugs to hider her unchastity both of them are equally guilty If the parents of that girl acquiesce in the causing of abortion they are also liable and the man who procures some poisonous drugs for causing abortion is guilty of wilful murder The Vendidad (Chap. 8, Secs. 31 32 and Chap 1 sec. 12) says that the committing of an unnatural offence is unatonable The Vendidad (Chap. 1 Sec 17) considers the offence of burning a dead body as an unatonable sin The Vendidad (Chap 3, Secs. 47 54) enjoins married life upon all Zoroastrians The Law is a subject, so interesting and yet so vast and inexhaustible We have seen already that though the two systems of Law one the Ancient Iranian and the other the modern one differ vastly in certain particulars and yet one would feel justified in saying that they differ simply to agree in the long run Naturally therefore even if we roll back the historic current three thousand years into the past, we shall find much to admire and no little to in the law unitate and institutions of Ancient Iran There is a certain romance about that distant land which can never die, and so long as the Parsis of today keep their religion and its precepts alive in their hearts guided by the divine teachings of the Bactrian Sage their memories will always take them to the scenes of the father land where their ancestors lived and died for a faith which still illumines the world

---

THE MARRIAGE SERVICE OF THE PARSIS

By

I J S Taraporewala, B A, Ph D,

The Marriage Ceremony of the Parsis–at least among the Shāhānshāhi section[1]—was repeated formerly twice, once in Pazand and then again in Sanskrit This double ceremony was said to be due to the promise given by the first band of Parsi immigrants into India to the Hindu Prince who gave them refuge

The Sanskrit part of the service, as recited at present by the ordinary priests is largely unintelligible, and even if we read it in print in the very carefully edited text of Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha[2], it appears very strange and is in many places extremely faulty This Sanskrit version is the work of one Dinidāru Bahman, who says that he has translated it from the Pahlavi language[3]

The question now would be, what was the Pahlavi original from which Dinidāru has translated? And the next question would be, where does the Pazand version, as now recited, come in? And a third question would be, how are these three—Pahlavi, Pazand and Sanskrit connected with each other?

in 1322 A. C by the scribe Meher Āwān Kaikhūsrū from a manuscript 44 years older"[1] This is not at all like the service as recited at present but it does contain words and phrases in common with it. It seems to me, judging by the translation of B. T Anklesaria to be an announcement of the fact of the marriage or perhaps the legal document drawn up in connection with and in order to register the marriage[2]

Of the actual marriage service as used to-day we have both the Pahlavi and the Pazand texts The former has been given by Ervad Bamanji Nasarvanji Dhabhar M A in his carefully edited *Zand i Khūrtak Avistāk* ([illegible]) Bombay 1927[3] The Pazand text has been edited by Ervad Edalji Kersāspji Antia in his *Pazand Texts* (Bombay 1909)[4] There is also another edition of the Pazand version printed in Gujarāti script together with a Gujarāti as well as an English translation prepared by Ervad Phiroze Shapurji Masāni[5]

This last is certainly an improvement on Antia's text. But Masani has introduced certain ideas and readings which do not seem to be warrented by the Pahlavi text.

Dhabhar holds that the extant Pahlavi version is "an attempt at translating the original Pazand into modern Pahlavi"[6] The two mss on which he has relied give the

---

1. *The Pahlavi text contained in the Codex MK* edited by Dastur Jamaspji Minocheherji Jamasp Asana (Bombay 1913) Int p. 47 The text itself is of 51 lines and is printed on pp. 141 143. I have given an English rendering of this in *A Volume of Indian and Iranian Studies presented to Sir E Denison Ross* (pp. 400-402).

2. There is clear mention of investigation and "attestation of the contract of marriage in paras 10 and 11.

3. The text is to be found on pp. 217 ff

4. The text is found on pp. 119 ff.

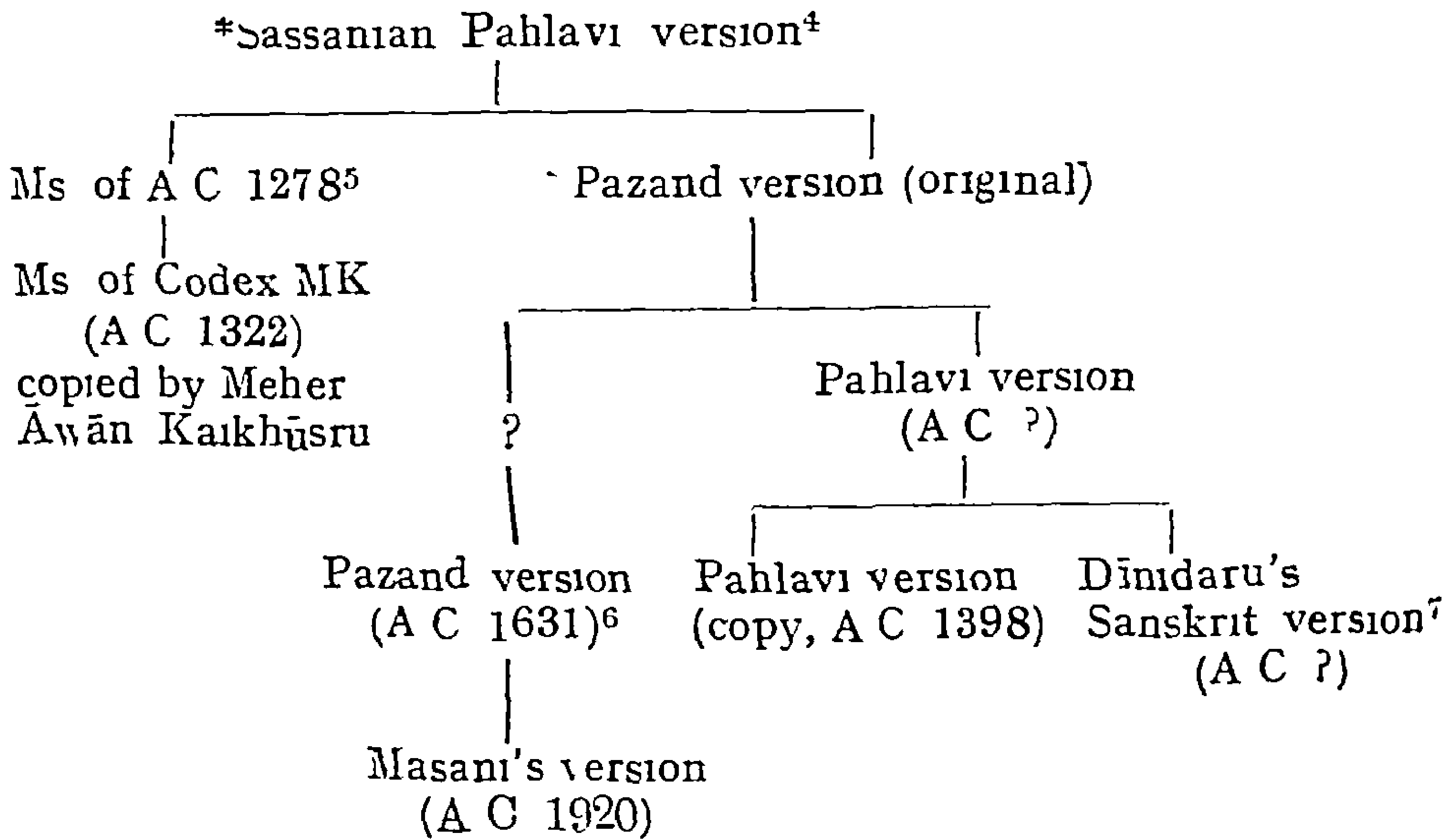
5. *Pazand Prayers Series*, No. 2 (Bombay 1920). The text and the translations and the usual Sanskrit version are to be found on pp. 192 ff Masani's version of the marriage service is now included in the latest editions of Ervad Kavasji E. Kanga's *Khordeh Avesta ba Māeni*

6. *Zand-i Khūrtak Avistāk*, Introduction, p. 20. By "Modern Pahlavi Dhabhar means the language as written by Zoroastrian priests several centuries after the Arab conquest. The language is certainly different even from that of the very late *Dīnkart*.

date A Y 767 (= A C 1397-98) for the original Pahlavi version" He goes on to point out the special peculiarities of grammar etc in this later Pahlavi[1]

But a noteworthy fact is that this Pahlavi version agrees much more closely with the Sanskrit of Dīnidāru than with the Pazand version[2] We may therefore venture to say that the Pazand version we have got is not the *original* Pazand version, but probably a badly made copy, which itself was later than the Sanskrit of Dīnidāru[3]

I would, therefore, venture to suggest the following "geneology" of these verious versions



1 These I have mentioned in the notes later on as they occur

2 Ervad P N Dhabhar was the first to draw my attention to this point

3 In his Introduction Antia has mentioned several mss. which contain both the Pazand and the Sanskrit *Paēmān*, but in the text itself, as he has given it, he has not mentioned any variant readings

4 This * indicates that this has been completely lost

5 The date is in accordance with what has been stated about Meher Āwān copying from a text which had been written 44 years earlier

6 Antia mentions this as the earliest date of his ms which is probably the date of the copy

7 The various mss. give the year (in Samvat era) of the copy Bharucha mentions several such dates in his Introduction, also in his note No 268 The earliest mentioned is Samvat 1400 = A C 1344 This shows that the earliest Pahlavi we have at present was itself a copy of a much earlier version from which Dinidaru made his translation

My object in this essay is primarily to revise the Sanskrit version and to make it as correct as possible and at the same time to be as near as possible to the original Pahlavi version from which Dinidāru had evidently translated. So I give (1) the earliest available Pahlavi version (copy of A.C. 1398) (2) its transliteration (3) the Pazand version (corrected) based upon the latest version of Masani (4) my own Sanskrit rendering based on Dinidāru's version and (5) an English translation. For the Sanskrit I have indicated in the notes the differences with Dinidāru together with my reasons for them. In most cases they are confined to giving a better word or a more idiomatic phrase in consonance with Sanskrit usage. But in places I have had to recast whole sentences. I have to thank my friend Prof Dr V M Apte[1] for carefully looking through this and for suggesting many improvements. As a student of the languages of both the branches of the Aryan I feel strongly that the Sanskrit should represent as closely as possible and as correctly as possible the high marriage ideals of our ancestors. I have also another hope that our better trained Mobeds may use this corrected version in the future[2]. To our Hindu brothers our marriage service should be of special interest, but just because of the uncouth Sanskrit of Dinidāru (as well as of other translators) they are repelled from such studies.[3]

The full "marriage service" consists of the following[4]

1. Now Prof of Sanskrit, University of Saugar.

2. This new version of the Pazand and the Sanskrit was actually used for the first time at the marriage ceremony of my own brother in 1939. The officiating priests were the two oldest students of the M F Cama Athornan Institute, at Andheri.

3. See for instance, the article by Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti on "Sanskrit works pertaining to Vernacular and Exotic Culture" in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXIV (1928), No. 4. He remarks there quite rightly, that, "It was owing to the immense popularity and the dignified position of Sanskrit that Dastur Neriyosang Dhaval... ... thought it necessary to translate Parsi religious works into Sanskrit. But these attempts ... ...have failed to attract any attention of the Sanskrit-knowing public. This seems to have been due not in small degree to the not very satisfactory nature of the composition, the translators making it in cases almost unintelligible."

4. As I have arranged the parts.

(I) Title and two *Ahunavars*

(II) The *Paīwānd*, consisting of the actual "contract" and "solemn pledge" of the marriage, attested by witnesses and the marriage vows repeated by the bridegroom and the bride All these are repeated thrice

(III) The Admonition

(IV) The Blessings of the Angel Hierarchy invoked on the couple [1]

(V) Three passages from the Avesta [2]

(VI) The Afrīn-i Vuzōrgān, (or the Blessings of the Illustrious Ancestors)

(VII) The Dōā-i Paēmānī (or good wishes for the married couple)

In the old-fashioned arrangement the first Avesta passage in (V) is recited with a Pazand rendering, the other two being left without any such translation There seems to be no reason for the insertion of the Pazand here In the old-fashioned service portions (I) to (V) are recited first in Pazand and then the whole is repeated in Sanskrit. Dīnīdāru apparently stops at No (IV) and it is Bharucha (the editor of these old Sanskrit translations) who has completed the whole But I suggest that in the actual 'marriage service" the Sanskrit of only (I) to (IV) should be used

A word regarding the reason why Parsis use both the Pazand and the Sanskrit service might not be out of place The Iranian Ceremonial is even to day conducted only in Pazand and the ceremony is performed in the early morning hours Tradition has it that when the Parsis had settled in Sanjan, they had promised to "Jādi Rānā' to have their marriages celebrated after sunset and to have the service conducted in an Indian language—viz, Sanskrit It seems very likely that in the beginning there was actually a double

1. All these (I) to (IV) are to be first in Pazand and then to be repeated in Sanskrit.

2 These are Yas LIX, 30 31, LIV, 1, and LXVIII, 11

performance of the ceremony. One was early in the morning to be in accord with Iranian usage and in Pazand alone. The whole was repeated after sunset and this second time only in Sanskrit, thus probably securing local recognition from the Hindu rulers. Till quite recently[1] the ceremony was performed twice, once after sunset and the second time in the early hours of dawn (about 2 A.M.). And on both occasions both the Pazand and the Sanskrit were recited.

I

PAHLAVI

[illegible]

I (Two Athravans)

[illegible]

(1) TRANSLITERATION OF PAHLAVI[1]

Patmānak-i[1] Katak[2] Xutāih[3]

[Xvanand Katak Maq patan[4]] yatā ahu vairyok[1] (2[7] gaftan)

(2) PAZAND *Paemān-e kad Xudaih*

[*Xvanand har do Mobadan*] *yathā-ahu vairyō (2 gaftan)*

(3) SANSKRIT पाणिग्रह पुण्य प्रतिज्ञा ।

[उभौ पुरोहितौ पठत] अहुनवर मन्त्र (द्विवारं पठनीय) ॥

(4) ENGLISH

The Solemn Pledge of Marriage

[Both the Priests recite] Yatha ahū vairyō (to be recited twice)

I have chosen the title पाणिग्रह for the Skt version because it is a *literal* rendering of the Pahlavi Pazand *Katak Xūtāih (Kat Xudāih)*. I think this better than translating विवाह as Dinidāru has done.

1 I remember this custom till the end of the 19th century.

2 The various directions of the ceremony which are not found in the original have been inserted by myself and are enclosed in square brackets [ ].

3 In this transliteration I have given the Semitic words just as they are written in the original and not in their Aryanised form. The Aryan forms are to be seen in the Pazand version.

(5) DINIDĀRU

वैवाहस्य [विवाहस्य] "पत्मानी"

इय वेवाहस्य पडमानी सस्कृत भापाया [°या] पहिलवी भापाया [°या] दीनिदारु ब्रह्मनेन अवतारिता ॥

[अहुनवर २]

(In Dinidāru's version the words in brackets are emendations or additions by Bharucha)

Two priests are needed for Parsi weddings The two Ahunavars by way of introduction are to be recited by *both* together

It is customary now to recite *two* Ahunavars The Pah given by Dhabhar reads [illegible] (*ayōk*), "one" Bharucha mentions that in several Skt mss the reading is in Avesta characters *Yaθā ahū vairyō yah* Masani gives in his Pazand version as the introductory formula the words *xšnaoθra Ahurahe Mazdå Ašəm vohū*

II 1 [The *Paēmānī*]

[illegible] (२)

[illegible]

[xᵛānand hola 2 magopatān] yahbūnāt tān Dātār Auharmazd frarst farzandān-zahar navīranhān fraxᵛ rōzīh, dōstīh libmeman-ravāh, tan min citr-rōbāh, dēr zivišnīk-vatrūnīh 100 u panjāh šanat.

[xᵛānand har do mōbadān] dehāt tān Dādār Hōrmazd frahēst farzandān-nar [ō] nabīrangān, frāx rōzī, dōstī [-e] del - robā, tan az cehr-ravā, dēr zivašni-pāyandī sad ō panjāh sāl

[उभौ पुरोहितौ पठत] देयाद् वा धाता स्वामी–सर्वज्ञानी प्रभूता पुत्र-(पौत्रादि)सतर्ति विपुला विभूर्ति हृद्गमा प्रीर्ति तनो रूप-प्रवृद्धि दीर्घां (च) जीवित-स्थितिं पचाशद् अधिक शत शरदाम् ॥

[Both the priests recite] May the Creator, the Lord All Wise bestow upon ye-two many sons [and] grand sons, extensive prosperity heart reaching love increasing beauty to (your) bodies (and) long continuance of (your) lives —(even upto) a hundred and fifty years

Dinidāru दयाद् वा दाता सर्वज्ञानी स्वामी प्रभूतां पुत्रसंततिं विपुलां विभूतिं मानसीं प्रीतिं तनावृद्धिं दीर्घाय जीवितस्थितिं [पञ्चाशदधिक शत वर्षाणाम्]

This sentence asks the blessings of God upon the pair and hence it should in my opinion be recited by *both* the priests Bharucha inserts the words मुख्योपाध्याया भूत before the text of Dinidāru. He means that the words are to be recited by the Chief priest (i.e. the Bridegroom's priest) alone Masani seems to agree with my view

dehāt दयात् — The form is aor opt. 3/1[1]

tān There is no dual in Pah or Paz. and so Din has translated व ; but I think we should have the dual (वाम्) in Skt.

Dādār—The word is from the Aryan $\sqrt{dh\bar{a}}$ Av *dā* Skt. धा) to create Hence Skt. धाता is nearer in sense दाता of Din means giver"

Hormazd—The word *Ahura* is always rendered by स्वामिन् and *Mazda* by महाज्ञानिन्[2] in the Skt. translations. Therefore I have altered the order of these two words in Din

farzandān-nar पुत्र The gender is indicated in the Pah Paz. by *zakar*[3] (*nar*) The Skt. uses the mas noun and Din very properly compounds it with the following संतति without the ā of the Paz It may be noted

1 Whit. Skt. Gram. § 837a.

2 Sometimes महाज्ञानिन is used.

3 Arab. ذكر zakar

that the ו (ō) is not found in the Pah Dīn follows the Pah very closely

navīrangān—In Pah the letter ש is used and it is usually pronounced *navīr*°, but the Paz is *nabīr*° The original ש (*p*) is reminiscent of its cognates, Lat *nepos*, Skt नप्तृ, Av *napāt* In the Pah *Patmānak* of Codex MK the word (*nāpah*) occurs, which has the same meaning There might have been same connection with the Aryan word **nābha* (Skt. नाभि), and the *b* in the Paz as also in the Pers نبیره *nabīreh* seems to support this.

rōzī - Dhabhar notes[1] that in this "modern" (i e. 14th century) Pah the substantival suffix is often (*-ih*) instead of the usual (*-īh*) It has been suggested that the *h* of this *-ih* is silent and the suffix has to be read only *-ī*

del—West and Haug in the *Gloss to Arta Viraf etc* (p 133) use a double ꞁ *b*[2] in the Semitic — *libbemman*

robā — This is the second part of the compound word cf Pers دل ربا *dil-rubā* "heart-ravishing" I have therefore translated it with Skt हृद्रमा[3]

Antia's Paz text has a full-stop after *del*

az —This post-position seems difficult to construe But as Din. has translated it by तस्य (gen sing) we may render it in Eng by "to" or "for" This usage of a gen in the dat sense is quite common in Aryan languages, especially with the √*dā* - (दा, Av *da*), to give This might be called the genitive of the recepient[4] *cf* वरान्प्रदायास्य (bestowing gifts on him)[5], also *dazdi ahmākəm tat āyaptəm* (grant unto us that gift)[6]

1 Z K A, Int, p 30   2 Arab لب *lubb*, Assyr *libbu*

3 *ravāī* (*robā*) is from *raftan*, to go

4 Whit, SG, § 297a   5 *Mahābhārata*,   6 *Yašt* X 33

[Pahlavi text] *cahr ravā* — I have translated increasing beauty The literal meaning is 'progress of appearance" The word [Pahlavi text] *robāk* (*ravā*) is also from [Pahlavi text] *raftan* (to go) and Din is perfectly correct in translating it as स्पप्रवृत्ति (progress of beauty) though his spelling (स्प°) is incorrect. The idea seems to be that the pair having attained the *dōsti o del rōbā* their bodies and faces too reflect in a manner the inner peace and love; and their appearance as they get older would get more and more serene and radiant.

दीर्घां च The च in Din. suggests that he appreciates the rhythm of the Skt

[Pahlavi text]-*vatrūnik* (*pāyandi*)—From [Pahlavi text] *vatruntan* (to protect to be firm) The Paz. is quite correct. The Skt of Din suggests that he regards [Pahlavi text] [Pahlavi text] *zivisnik-vatrūnik* as a compound and he renders it quite correctly by जीवितस्थिति (continuance of life) Masani rather needlessly inserts ō (and) between the two words.

पचाशद्वर्षिक etc.—These words are not in Din. but have been added by Bharucha I have merely changed वर्षाणाम् to शरदाम् as the latter is closer to the Vedic phrase जीवेम शरदः शतम्

II 2

[Pahlavi text] (२)

[Pahlavi text]

[Pahlavi text]*

[Pahlavi text]

1 [*pursat magopat i katak-xūtā ōl abū-i katak-xūtā*] *barā yōm* (*vahāmān*) *barā binā* (*vahāmān*) *sanat madam*

---

* I have ventured to correct the obvious errors of the text here as also elsewhere.

[*ayōk hazār 3 sat ō* .] *min Malkāān-Malkā Yazdagart Šatrōyār Sāsān-tōxm, bar ā šatrōstān xujastak* (*vahāmān*), *šapīrān Aīrān hanjaman jast-yahvīmūnēt, madam dāt* [*ō*] *āīnīnak* [-*i*] *dīn-i Māzdayasnānīk, bar ā katak-xūtāīk-i nīšmanīk bēnatman-dihišnīk* [*denman kanīk*] [*at dōam bār bāšat— denman nīšman*] (*vahāmān*) *šamvar* [*bar ā patmān-i cand rūpiyā Hindukīk girīftan ō cand ārāyašn ō patrāyašn zahbā ōlāš yahbuntan*] *makbalūnt yahvūnēt?*

[*yamalalūnt abū-i katak-xūtā—makbalunt yahvūnam*]

2 [*pursat mubad-i kad-xūdā az pidar-i kad-xūdā*] *ba rōz* (*falān*) *ba māh* (*falān*) *sāl avar* [*yak hazār 3 sad u ..*] *az Šāhān-Šāh Yazdagard Sahriyār Sāsān-tōxm, ba šehrastān xūjastah* (*falān*), *beh Īrān anjuman jast-estēt, avar dāt u āīn* [-*i*] *Dīn-i Māzdayasnī ba kad-xūdāī-i zanī duxt-dihišnī* [*īn kanīk*] [*agar du-am bār bāšad— īn zanī*] (*falān*) *nāmvar* [*ba paīmān-i cand rūpīyā Hindī girīftan u cand ārāyašn u payrāišn zarrīn avaš dādan*] *padīrafteh būdīd?*

[*gūyad pidar-i kad-xūdā — padīraftēh būdam*]

3 [मुख्यपुरोहितो वरस्य पितरम् पृच्छति] —

सासान-कुल-सम्भवाद् राजाधिराज-यज्दगर्द-शहेरियारस्य युगे प्रवर्तमाने [अधिक-त्रयोदश-शते] संवत्सरे (अमुक-) दिवसे (अमुक-) मासि श्री- (अमुक-) नगरे माज्दयस्न धर्मस्य शासनाचारानुसारेण कन्यादानविधिना नारीं गृहिणीपदे स्थापयितुम् उत्तमानाम् आर्याणाम् [इयम्] सभा संमिलिता। [तत्र च] [इमाम् कुमारीम्] [यदि पुनर्भू स्याद्— इमाम् नारीम्] (अमुक-) नाम्नीम् [कतिपय-भारतीय मुद्रा स्वीकृत्य स्वयंच इमा सुवर्णरत्नाभरणैरलंकृत्य च पुण्यप्रतिज्ञापूर्वक] अपि भवान् स्वीकरोति॥

[वरस्य पिता प्रतिवदति — नून स्वीकरोमि॥]

4 [The priest of the Bridegroom asks the Father of the Bridegroom]

On the day (.. ..) of the month (...) in the year one thousand three hundred and ... since the King-of--Kings Yazdakart Šahriyār of the House-of-Sāsān, in the

auspicious city of (   ) an assembly of good Iranians has come-together according to the law and custom of the Mazdayasna Faith in order to (make) a woman wedded wife[1] by rites-of marriage[2] (Before this assembly) do-you-accept this maiden [if it be (her) second time—this woman] bearing the-name (   ) [under solemn pledge by taking a certain (sum of) Indian coins[3] and by presenting to her certain jewels and ornaments of gold?

[The father of the Bridegroom replies:—I do accept (her)]

5 Dinidāru

वत्सरेषु (अमुक) शतेषु संवत (अमुक) वर्षे (अमुक) रोज (अमुक) मास (अमुके) नगर प्राक् इमस्त्रगर दोहेमिभार भवत् वाग्मि आशीर्वादामिरामि विंशति धववर निशानुरि पौवर्णिमम्बा पूर्वावते भस्य भवीता या प्रमवीमि उत्तमानां इजमने मप्राप्त उपरि भइनम्याम्न वत् माग्दइमरन्या दीन्या परिणीतकमवतया कन्यादानं (यदि कुमारी भवति) इय कुमारी (यदि द्वितीयवारा भवति) इय नारी [अमुक] नाम्नी (गृहार्थ).

[Dinidāru's para ends rather abruptly: the first question plainly asked in the Pazand is not even expressed here.]

This is a question addressed by the Priest of the Bridegroom (who is regarded as the Chief Priest)[4] to the father of the Bridegroom or his representative. It should be recited addressing that person but it is not usually done. Masani thinks *both* the priests should recite this. *sanat tōrm*—The year mentioned is of course the Anno Yazdagardi.

The ms. has the words (*haft sat ō sast ō sallā*) i.e. A.Y. 767 = A.C. 1398 which gives the date of the ms. The Skt. version (as can be seen from Dinidāru) uses the Samvat era[5]

1. Lit. "Mistress-of the house

2. Lit. "(rites of) givi g away the daughter

3. Lit. "rupee

4. Hence Dinidāru calls him मुख्योपाध्याय or प्रमुखोपाध्याय

5. This wa the usual practice till quite recently. The lists of priestly ordinations at Navsari are also similarly dated.

ba šahrastān etc — Masani takes the first three words to go with the preceding clause and makes a change in the word order He trans 'King of the auspicious Iranian cities, in the city of . . this gathering etc '

ba kad-xūdāī-i zan dust-dihišni.—The construction is very loose here as is usual in later Pah and Paz I take the *ba* (Pah [illegible] *barā*) as almost equivalent to *ba-rāc* (Pah [illegible]) *ba-rāc*) and trans "in order to'. I also venture to put a stop after this clause Dinidāru seems to have correctly understood this Pah phrase[1], for he says परिणीत कलत्रतया कन्यादानम् Masani has not brought out the full force of कन्यादान (Pah [illegible] *benatman-dahišnih*)

agar dūam bāi etc — This seems to be positive proof of widow remarriage having been allowed amongst the Parsi Zoroastrians

ba paēmān-i cand etc — This clause has been composed by Masani in Paz and I have tried to render it in Pah also The original (applicable in Irān of Sasanian days) runs thus

[illegible] (*ba paēmān-i dō hazār dinār zar Nišāpūrī*) This is also found in Dinidāru But later on this phrase has been expanded in the Pazand into *dō hazār dirham sīm-i sapīd vijeh dō dīnār zar-ī surx Nišāpūrī*, (two thousand *dirhams* of bright white silver and two *dīnārs* of red gold of Nīsāpūr) Nīsāpūr was the famous mint of ancient Iran

II 3

[illegible] (१०)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

1 [*pursat magopat-i katak-xūtā ōl abū-i kanīk*] *tān levatman napašman dūtmān barāe zanīk hamdātastānīk barā rāst mīnišnīk pavan 3 gobišnīk napašman*

1 He has translated *direct* from this Pahlavi version (see above)

kerfah varzisnih (rahamān) rā andāh zivandakih patmān barā yahbūnēt?

yamalalunit abū i kanīk — patmān barā yahbūnam

2 [*pursat mubad i kad-xūdā az pidar i kanīk*] *tān arā x°ēs dūdmān barāē am hamdādastānī pa rāst manasni pa sē gavasni x°es kerfeh varzasni (falān) rā andā zindakī paēmān ba dādit?*

gūyad pidar-i kanīk paēmān dādam

3 [मुकपुरोहित कन्याया पितरं पृच्छति]:—

अपि भवान् स्ववंशे सह इमां कन्यां उद्दिश्य एकमतो भूत्वा सत्येन मनसा त्रिविध प्रतिज्ञा-पूर्वकम् पुण्यापचित्यै (तम्) (अमुष्य) आजीवनान्तम् (प्रदातुं) प्रतिज्ञातवान् ॥

[कन्याया पिता प्रतिवदति] — नून प्रतिज्ञात

4 [The Priest of the Bridegroom asks the Father of the Bride] (And) have you (being) of-one-mind with your family with regard to (this) woman with truthful mind (and) with triple word (and) for the increase of your own virtue promised (to give her) unto ( ) until the end (of her) life?

[The father of the Bride replies—I have promised.]

5 Dinidāru

पुण्यामिर्निजान्वयसमास्मिपन सत्येन मनसा त्रिप्रतिवाणीमि आत्मन पुण्यवृद्धय यत् (अमुष्यस्य) आयमसीम प्र ता ?

[द्वितीयापार्श्वाम कन्यापक्षप्रतिनिधि पृच्छति प्रदत्ता ?][1]

[वधूपक्षप्रतिनिधि मृतं[1] प्रदत्ता।]

barāe zam — Masani reads *barāzani* and trans "for the sake of prosperity"[2] Masani divides this into two questions (1) at सत्यन मनसा, which phrase is to be repeated by the Bridegroom's "witness" and (2) at प्रदत्ता which word is to be repeated by the Bride's "witness" This seems to be entirely meaningless in the Sanskrit According to Dinidāru only one question is to be asked so far viz at the

1 These directions are inserted by Bharucha   2 ફ્રશ્નને-ખાતર.

end of this para Bharucha seems to think (judging by his arrangement of Dinidāru's text) that this question is asked first by the Chief (i e the Bridegroom's) Priest, then it is repeated by the Bride's Priest,[1] and her "witness" replies But in the Pah.-Paz original there has been a clear question to the Bridegroom's Father at the end of the previous para (3) and at the end of this there is a question put to the Bride's Father This is certainly a more reasonable arrangement

[illegible] *baiā rāst minišnīh* — The [illegible] *baiā* is used here very loosely in the sense of [illegible] *paran* (*pa*)[2]

pī se gavašni — The triple word might be the three questions asked during the ceremony Or might it not be the triple promise मनसा, वाचा, कर्मणा ?

II 1

[illegible] (o)

[illegible]

[illegible]

1 [*pūrsat magōpat-i katak-xūtā ōl kolā-dō, katak-xūtā ō kanīk*]

tān andāk zīvandakīh patmān paran rāst minišnīh pasand kartēt ?

yamalalūnd kolā-dō šān—pasand kūnīm

2 [*pursat mūbad-i kad-xūdā az har-dō, kad-xūdā ū kanīk*] —

tān andā zindaki paēmān pa rāst manašnī pasand kar dīd?

gūyand har-dō-šān — pasand kunīm

3 [मुख्यपुरोहितो वधू-वर-युगल पृच्छति]

अपि युवाम् इमाम् प्रतिज्ञा आजीवनान्तम् सत्येन मनसा स्वीकुरुथ ।

[उभौ तौ प्रतिवदत] — नून-स्वीकुर्वः ॥

1 The द्वितीयोपाध्याय

2 See Dhabhar's Introduction to his *Z KA*, p 80

4 [The Priest of the Bridegroom asks both the Bridegroom and the Bride] —

(And) do you (two) with truthful mind accept (this) *pledge until the-end-of life?*

Both of them reply — We accept.

5 Dinidaru [प्रमुखोपाध्यायो वरं प्रश्नं पृच्छति] युष्माभिश्च आस मसीम सत्येन ममसा प्रतिकृता?

[द्वितीयोपाध्यायो वरं पृच्छति] प्रतिकृता?

[उ मूते] प्रतिकृता।

[The use of प्रतिकृता for स्वीकृता here is quite remarkable]

[illegible] *pasand kartēt* — It has been suggested that one should read [illegible] (*kūnēt*) the aorist form as being more grammatical But [illegible] *kartēt* has been in use throughout there is no variant reading like the one suggested

Masani is quite right when he suggests that the Bridegroom and the Bride should reply to this together with one voice

II 5.

[illegible] (१)

[illegible]

1 [*x̌ānand kolā dō magopatān*]
kolā-dō tān rāmišn afzūn yahvūnāt.

2 [*x̌ānand har-dō mūbadān*]
har-dō tān rāmišn avzūn bād.

3 [उभा उपाध्यायौ पठत] —
युवयो अविरत-कल्याण-वृद्धिर् भूयात्।

4 [Both the Priests recite] —
May ever increasing-felicity come to ye both[1]

1. Lit. Lo of y both.

2 pa nām [u] yārī i Hormazd hamīšak xūrehmand bēd hujihšnmand bēd rawišnmand bēd firūmand bēd asahī āmū āsn nigostar bēd beh burzišni sa ārār bēd

3 अस्मिन् होर्मज्दस्य कृपया च सत्य। स्फुरताम् अनुदिनम्। सिद्धिम् भवानुदि। प्रभव-निरताम्। पुष्टिं विस्तताम्। ऋतस्य शिक्षायाम् अवधातव्यम्। गापुरस्सन्न भवितव्यम्॥*

4 In the name of God [and (with His) help. May you always be prosperous May you attain (your goal) May you grow (ever) greater May victory crown your efforts Listen to the teaching of Righteousness Be worthy of the noblest praise *

5 Dinidaru [उभया पाण्याया पूत] नाम्ना महात्मन होर्मज्दस्य। सदैव धीमान् भव। सिद्धिमान् भव। वृद्धिमान् भव। विजयवान् भव। पुण्यशिक्षाध्याता भव। उत्तमस्तुतियोग्यो भव।

hūjihšnamand — Masani reads *hūdehšnamand* and trans. full of blessed gifts The Skt. of Dinidaru is correct and hence the reading accepted here should be adopted

āmū-šn nigostār — Masani reads *āmu asnadār* and trans in Guj. અમલ-શીખનારા. In his Eng trans. he renders this sentence thus Be ye versed in practical righteousness It seems that the word *nigostār* has dropped out somehow

burzišni—Masani reads *varzišn* and trans "deeds" But the Pahl text is quite clear about the initial ‍ـ‍ *b*.

III. 2

[illegible] (A)

[illegible]

1 *minišni hūmata minūt gobišni hūxta yamlalūnāt kūnišni huvaršta vabidūnāt. harvisp dušmat dūbārāt. harvisp dū āxt barā kāhāt harvisp dušhūvaršt barā sūzāt.*

* The Sanskrit and English renderings are henceforth free.

2 *manasnī humata manad gavasni huxta gūyād kunasnī huvaršta kūnād harvesp dusmata dīnād, harvesp duzuxta ba-kāhād harvesp duževaršta basūzād*

3 मनसा सुमतम् ध्यायस्व। वचसा सूक्तम् वद। कर्मणा सुकृतम् कुरु। निखिलम् दुर्मतम् जहि। समस्तम् दुरुक्तम् उन्मूलय। अशेषम् दुष्कृतम् निर्दह।

4 In (thy) mind think good thoughts In (thy) speech speak good words In (thy) acts do good deeds Dispel all bad thoughts Cut out all bad words Burn all bad deeds

5 Dinidāru

मनसा सुमत मन्यस्व। वचसा सूक्त वद। कर्मणा सुकृत कुरु। समस्त दुर्मत निजिघ्न। समस्त दुरुक्त दलय। समस्त दुष्कृत दह।

निजिघ्न — See Whitney *Sanskrit Grammar* § 673

ba-kāhād —Lit "diminish", from the verb *kāstan*, to cut

III 3

[illegible] (9)

1 *ahlāyih sctāyāt yātūk nikūnnāt karitūnāt Māzdayasnīk*

2 *ašahi sctāyād jādūi nikūinād xᵛānād Māzdayasni*

3 स्तुहि पुण्यम्। कुत्सय पापम्। माज्दयस्न-इति आत्मानम्-प्रकाशय।

4 Devoutly cling to Righteousness Hold evil in scorn Proclaim thyself a worshipper-of-Mazdā

5 Dinidāru स्तुहि पुण्य निंद दैत्यान्। ब्रूहि माज्दइअस्नीम॥

III 4

[illegible] (10)

[illegible]

1 *būndak mīnisnīk kār varz min frārūnīk xᵛāstak andūz baēn xutāyān ayōkān rāst-suxan farmān-kār yahvūnāš baēn arbārān avitan carp hūcasm yahvūnās*

2 *bundeh manašni kār varz az frarūnī xᵛāsteh andūz andar xūdāyān yegān rāst - suxan farmān - kār bāš andar yārān avitan carv hucasm bās*

3 अनन्य मनसा कर्मेषु प्रचर। सत्येन [एव] श्रियम् अर्जय। गुरूणां परिषदि सत्यैकतान आदेश-कर [च] (वशी [च]) भव। मध्ये सहचराणाम् विनीततनुः मृदु शुद्धदृष्टिः भव।

4 Perform (all) action with (thy) whole mind Earn (thy) fortune with righteous means (alone) Amongst elders be at-one-with truth and obedient Amongst comrades be well mannered, smooth speaking (and) pure-eyed

5 Dinidāru सत्यमनसा कर्मेषु प्रचर। सदाचारेण लक्ष्मीमर्जय। अंत स्वामिनो सत्यवागादेशकरा भव। अंत सहाध्यायो विनीततनुमधुरश्च शुद्धनेत्रा भव।

ayōkān (*yegān*) [illegible]—The word is made up of [illegible] + [illegible] *ayōk + jān* and hence it means lit. having one soul with" The phrase [illegible] *ayōkān rāst sutan* implies therefore "he who is at-one with truth The phrase [illegible] (*ayōkānih ō farmān bortārih*) love and obedience occurs in § 5 of the *Patmānik i Katak-xūtāih* also

III.

[illegible] (11)

[illegible]

[illegible]

1 *spa gik al rabidūn xasmagimik al yadrūn nang rāē vināt al rabidūn ā kāmakih al yadrūn bis al yadrūn arask arārūnik al yadrūn madam-minišnik al rabidūn raft-minišnil al yadrūn varūnik al yadrūn x̌āstak aisān al apār*

2 *spa-gi ma kūn xasmagi ma bar nang-rāē gunāh ma kūn ā-kāmi ma bar bis ma bar arask avārūnī ma bar avar-manasnī ma kūn tar-manasnī ma bar varūni ma bar x̌āstah [illegible] astān ma apar*

3 मा पैशुन्य कुरु। मा क्रोधेषु प्रचर। मा लज्जया पापम् कुरु। मा क्लेशे मतिं कुरु। मा द्वेष च बुद्धिं धारय। मा एनसीम् ईर्ष्यां वह। आत्मानं मा स्तापय। मा अन्यायमान कुरु। मा कामातुरो (°तुरा) भव। मा ग्रस कस्यचित् धनम्।

4 Slander not Harbour not anger Allow not (false) shame to lead thee into sin Be not attached to avarice Bear enmity to none Let not unrighteous envy overcome thee Praise not thyself Run not another down Do not be lustful Snatch not away another s goods

5 Dinidāru मा पैशुन्यं कुरु। मा क्रोधं वह। मा लज्जया पापं कुरु। मा लोभं वह। मा [अति] चिंता वह। मा ईर्ष्यां वह। मा गर्वं वह। मा [अव-]मानं वह। मा कामं वह। मा हठात् केषांचिल्लक्ष्मीं हर।

nang-iāē — Masani reads *nang-iā*

āz-kāmī — This should be taken as a compound

avārūnī — This is the opposite of *frārūnī* (III 1)

avar-manasnī and *tar-manašni* — The former means "self-praise" and the latter means "running another down" The Pah renderings are rather curious — [Pahlavi] *madam-mīnišnīh* and [Pahlavi] *raft-mīnišnīh* respectively The word [Pahlavi] *madam* means "summit" or "top", hence the phrase would mean "thinking highly of oneself" The [Pahlavi] *raft* has the Paz equivalent *tar* given for it The *tar* has various meanings, one of which is "scornful" The phrase *tar-kard* occurs in *Ardā Virāf* in the sense of "acted insolently" or "scorned" (cf Pers زبان ترکردن *zabān tar-kardan* to speak roughly or harshly)[1]

ma-apar—Masani reads *ma bar* The Pah is [Pahlavi] *apūr* (from [Pahlavi] *apurtan* = to take away) Dinidāru is perfectly correct with his हर (in the sense of अपहर) I have put in here the well-known quotation from first verse of the *Īśopaniṣad*

III 6

(۱۲) [Pahlavi]

1 See West and Haug *Glossary of Arda Viraf*, also Hoshangji and Haug, *Pah-Paz Glossary*, under [Pahlavi] *raft*

1 [*ōl katak-xūtā*] *min nišman aisān* [*ōl kanik min šōē aisān*] *pahrixtār yahvūnās*

2 [*az kad-xūdā*] *az zan-i kasān* [*az kanīk—az šūhar-i kasān*] *parhixtār bās*

3 [वरम् प्रति] कान्तायाम् अन्यस्य [कन्याम् प्रति—कान्ते ऽन्याया] अनासक्तो (° सक्ता) भव।

4 [Addressing the Bridegroom] From another's wife [addressing the Bride—from another's husband] keep-(thyself)-apart

5 Dinidāru [भर्त एव भूयताम्] मा नारी अन्येषां कामय।

In the original this sentence is to be addressed only to the Bridegroom. But in their ignorance the priests address this sentence to both! Masani very wisely has inserted the corresponding sentence to be addressed to the Bride. In his directions" he says that both priests turn to the Bridegroom while repeating the first (i e the original) sentence and then turning to the Bride they both repeat the second sentence (as modified by Masani) for her benefit. I would suggest that the Bridegroom's Priest should repeat the words for the groom and the Bride's Priest those for the bride.

III 7

[illegible] (۱۳)

1 *min hūtōxšaik x*v*ēs x*v*ār yahvūnās Yazadān sapirān rāe bāharvar vabidūn.*

2 *az hūtoxšāi-e x*v*es x*v*ār bās yazatān vehān rāe behrvar kūn.*

3 शुद्ध-व्यवसायेन स्वीयेन भुङ्क्ष्व। यमदेभ्य उत्तमेभ्यश्च विभजय।

4 Eat the bread of thine own righteous labour. Let angels and holy-ones get their share

5 Dinidāru

शुद्ध व्यवसायात् स्वीयात् भक्षय (वर्तेय)। उत्तमेभ्यश्च विभाग कुरु

az x^v^āi bās — Masani reads *az hutorsāi x^v^is-kār bās* and trans "mind your own work with good diligence" But this has no support either in Pahlavi nor in Dinidāru

Yazdān etc — The idea is that one should regard it as one's duty to share with the angels and with the holy people the blessings that are bestowed upon one by God The idea of देवयज्ञ and possibly अतिथियज्ञ[1] of the Hindus seems to be a close parallel

According to Bharucha it seems that there two sentences are also to be addressed to the Bridegroom alone

III 8

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

1 *levatman kīnvai gabrā napait al rabidūn levatman āzvai hambāz al yahvūnās levatman spazg hamrās al yahvūnās levatman dūs-srūb paēvand al rabidūn levatman dūs-ākās hamkāi al yahvūnās levatman dūsmanān barā dātastān nuksūn levatman dūstān [barā] pasand dūstān sātūn levatman nayāzān patkāi al rabīdūn*

2 *avā kīnvai mard naraid ma kūn avā āzvai hambāz ma bās avā spazag hamrāh ma bās avā dūs-srūb paēvand ma kūn avā dūs-āgāh hamkār ma bās avā dūsmanān pa dādastān kūs avā dūstān pa pasand-i dūstān rav avā niyāzān patkāi makūn*

3 सम मत्सरिणा स्पर्धाम् मा कुरु। सम लोभिना भागी (भागिनी) मा भव। सम पिशुनेन समर्गी (° सर्गिणी) मा भव। सम कुकीर्तिणा वशम् मा वधय। दुर्बुद्धीना सहकारी (° कारिणी) मा भव। सम शत्रुभिन्याय्येन युध्यस्व। सम मित्रेण मित्रवत् सप्रीति पचर। सम निराश्रयै कलहम् मा कुरु ॥

1 The usual guest was the holy man who wandered from village to village

4 Dispute not with a malicious person Be not a partner with the avaricious Go not the same way with the slanderer Ally not thyself with the infamous (ignoble) Work not with the evil minded Fight thy enemies with justice. With thy friends behave like a friend with loving kindness Quarrel not with the helpless.

5 Dinidāru [वरवणा मृघातम्] सम मत्सरिणा स्पर्धी मा कुरु। सम कामिना समभागी मा भव। सम पिशुनेन सवर्गी मा भव। सम कुकीर्तिना [जनन] संबन्धि मा कुरु। सम दुष्टमेधेन सकार्यी मा भव। मम शत्रुभिन्यायेन युध्यस्व। सम मित्रः प्रीतिकृत्य मित्राणां प्रचर। सम विकलेन प्रतिवाद मा कुरु।

NOTES —*parrand*—The word is used in the special sense of relationship by marriage" Hence Dinidāru's trans. बधूवरदिम् is quite correct.

arā niyā ān etc.—Masani reads *reyārān* and trans quarrelsome' in his Guj trans. But in his English trans wise" and hazards the guess" that the reading in the Original Pahlavi must be *dānakān*[1]

III 9

[illegible] (10)
[illegible]
[illegible]

1 *levin hanjamai bāxt-gūftār yahvūnāt pēš pātā xvāhān patmān milayā yahvūnāt min abitar samlōrtār yahvūnāt barā kolā ainīnak am al āxār napaxman tan paran rāstīk bōxtār dār*

2 *pīš-i anjuman bāxt gūftār bāš pīš i pādšāhān paemān-suxan bāš az pidar nāmbōrtar bāš ba har āin mād ma āzār x̌ēš tan pa rāstī bōxtār dār*

3 पुर परिषदाम् शुद्ध-वाग् भव। पुरो राज्ञाम् परिमित-वाग् भव। पितृ कीर्तिमत्तरो (°तरा) भव। मा मातरम् कदाचन संतापय। स्वीयम् वपुर धर्मेण आत्मशुद्धय धारय।

1. Pazand Prayer Seri 1, No. 2, p. 230 foot-note.

4 In assemblies be honest of speech Before princes use measured words Achieve a higher name than (thy) father Never on any account cause pain to (thy) mother Keep thy body pure for the salvation of (thy) soul

5 Dinidāru पुरो हंजमनस्य शुद्धकथनो भव। पुरो राज्ञां प्रमाणवाग् भव। पितुर्नाम् कीर्तिको भव। मातरं मा बाधस्व। स्वीयं वपु सत्येन शुद्धं धारय।

NOTES —*bōrt-gūftār*—Masani reads *pōrt-gūftār* Dhabhar prints [illegible] (*pōrt*) in the text, but notes the *v l* [illegible] (*bōrt*) If the reading of Masani be adopted, the trans should be 'full-speaking', i e, speaking after due consideration But Dinidāru's शुद्धकथन decidedly supports *bōrt-gūftār*

nāmbōitar—Masani reads *nāmbōitār*, but trans as if it were °*tar* The comparative suffix in Pah as also in Paz is *-tar* The idea in this phrase is similar to that expressed in the Skt line सर्वत्र विजयमिच्छेत् पुत्रादिच्छेत् पराजयम् Dinidāru has not brought out clearly the idea of the comparative, though he has translated *az-pidar* quite correctly for the ablative पितु

bōxtār—This refers to the salvation of the soul

III 10

[illegible]

1 *cigōn Kaexūsrōb* [*barā*] *ahos-tan yahvūnēt cigōn Kāyūs ākās-homand yahvūnēt cigōn Xūrsēt raēhomand yahvūnēt cigōn Kōkā baxtār yahvūnēt cigōn Zartūhast samdār yahvūnēt cigōn Rūstaham zūhar-yāitīunt yahvūnēt cigōn Spendarmat-Zamīk bardārān yahvūnēt cigōn tan* [*o*] *jān levatman dōstān ō berādarān ō* [*ōl katāk-xūtā* —] *nis-man* [*ōl kanīk-*] *sōē ō farzandān hū-dōsttārak yahvūnēt*

2 *cūn Kaixūsrō* [*ba*] *ahōs-tan bēd. cūn Kāus āgāh mand bēd. cūn Xūršēd rayōmand bēd cūn Māh baxtār bēd. cūn Zartōšt nāmdār bēd cūn Rūstam zōr-āvar bēd cūn Spandārmad Zamīn bardārān bēd cūn tan* [*ū*] *jān avā dōstān ū birādarān ū* [*az* / *ad-xuda*—] *zan* [*az kanīk*—] *šūhar ū farzandān hū-dūstdār bēd*

3 कयखुसव इव स्थिरतनुर्भव। कयुस इव सुधीर्भव। भास्कर इव भास्वरो (°रा) भव। चन्द्र इव दानशीलो (°ला) भव। जरथुस्त्र इव सुकीर्तिर्भव। रुस्तम इव बलवान (°वती) भव। स्पेन्दामद्–भूमिरिव फलप्रदो (°प्रदा) भव। तनुरात्मना इव समम् मित्रैः भ्रातृभि [वरम् उद्दिश्य—] कान्तया [कन्याम् उद्दिश्य—] कान्तेन संततिभिश्च सुसंसक्तो (°क्ता) भव।

4 Like Kaixūsrō be thou immortal bodied Like Kāus be thou full of wisdom Like the Sun be thou resplendent. Like the Moon be thou munificent. Like Zarathustra be thou far famed Like Rustam be thou full of strength. Like Mother Earth be thou fruitful Like the body with the soul be thou united in bonds of true love with thy friends thy kinsfolk [to the Bridegroom—] to thy wife [to the Bride—] to thy husband and thy children

5 Dinidāru कएखुसरु इव अजरकायो भव। कहोस इव ज्ञानवान् भव। सूर्य इव प्रभावान् भव। चन्द्र इव विभक्ता भव। जरथुस्त्र इव सुकीर्तिमान् भव। रुस्तम इव बलवान् भव। भूमिरिव फलप्रदो भव। तनुरिव आत्मा इव सम मित्रैर्भ्रातृ कलत्रजातकैः सुस्नेहवान् भव।

NOTES —*ahōs-tan*–Masani reads *anaoš-tan* which however means the same thing

baxtār—Masani reads *bōxtār* and trans. "Salver (of the soul)" The usual appellation of the Moon is also *Māh boxtār* The Pah text however is quite clearly *baxtār* (بختار) and Dinidāru's विभक्ता (one who distributes gifts") seems also to support this

The variants about the Bridegroom and the Bride have been suggested by Masani

III 11.

[illegible] (١٧)

1 *hamīšah hūdīn ō hūhīm yahvūnēt Auharmazd xōtāē šanāsāt Zartūhašt rat yansegūnāt Āhriman šēdā avasahīnāt*

2 *hamīšah hūdīn ū hūhīm bēd Hōrmazd Xūdā sanāsād Zartōšt rad setāyād Ahriman dīv avasahīnād*

3 सर्वदा शुद्धमति सुवृत्तिश्च भव। हार्मज्दम् स्वामिनम् जानीहि। जरथुस्त्रम् गुरुत्वेन वृणु। आहरिमनम् रिपुम् निर्वासय।

4 Always be pure of faith and sweet of disposition Acknowledge Ahurā-Mazdā as Lord Supreme Accept Zarathuštra as the Teacher Drive away Ahriman the Enemy

5 Dīnidāru सदैव दीनिशीलो भव। हार्मज्द स्वामिन मन्यस्व। जरथुस्त्र च गुरु गृहाण। आहरेमन च दैत्यान् निर्दल च।

NOTES — *bēt* Masani reads *bāš* here

šēdā—The Pah word means originally "the enemy" Paz *dīv* does not bring out the true force of the word The English *Satan* (borrowed from the Hebrew) and the Arabic *Shaitān* شيطان are cognates

IV [THE BLESSINGS OF THE ANGEL HIERARCHY]

Now begins the fourth part which consists of invoking the blessings of the Angel Hierarchy on the married couple. These are thirty in number after whom the days of the month are named and they are taken in that order These are arranged in four groups, each headed by *Dātār Auharmazd*, the groups consisting of 7, 7, 8 and 8 names

IV 1

[illegible] (١٨)
[illegible] [1] [illegible]
[illegible]

1 *yahbūnāt dahasnī Dātār Auharmazd mīnīsnīh mnītīh Vohūman hūgōftārīh Artavahust hukertārīh Satrōivar pūr mīnīsnīh Spendarmat. sīrīnī [u] carp Xūrdat barhōmandīh Amardat*

2 *dehāt dahasnī Dādār Hormazd manasnī mamdī Behman hūgoftārī Ardībehest hūkerdārī Sahrivar pūr-manasnī Spendarmad sīrīnī [ū] carv Xūrdād baromandī Amerdād*

3 देयाद् दाताम् भाता हार्मज्द्। मनस शुचितिसम् बहमन्। सुवक्तसम् अर्दिबहेस्त्। सुकृतसम् शहरिवर। पूर्णम् प्रज्ञाम् स्पेन्दामद्। माधुर्यम् मृदुताम् च खुर्दाद्। फलवताम् (च) अमरदाद्।

4 May the Creator Ahurā Mazdā grant (ye) all blessings —Purity of thought (through) Bahman Purity of speech (through) Ardibehest. Purity of action (through) Sahrivar Fulness of wisdom (through) Spendārmad. Sweetness and gentleness (through) Xūrdād Fruitfulness (through) Amardād

5 Dinidāru दादृत्व दाता हेरमज्द। मन: शुचितो बहमन। सुवक्तृत्व अर्दिबहस्त:। सुकृतृत्व शेहेरेवर। सपूर्णमन: स्पदारमन:। गोस्य चाप अमिरदाद। फलवतो च अमिरदाद।

NOTES — The idea is that the gifts come from Ahurā-Mazdā the Creator through the various Divinities named The seven mentioned here are the Supreme Being and the six Holy Immortals" These latter are divided into two groups[1] of three each and in each group the gifts are of thoughts words and deeds.

गोस्य चाप अमिरदाद — This seems utterly hopeless in Dinidāru One can almost assert that this sentence is not Dinidāru s own In the first place the last name should be खुर्दाद The गोस्य चोपम् seems to me to be "dog Sanskrit for the Guj मस्तु चोपडु an exact rendering (referring however to food !) of the Paz. *sīrīnī ū carv*

1 The *Holy Immortals* by th very gende fall into these two groups respectively the Father-aspect and the Mother-aspect of God.

Dinidāru's Sanskrit is not of the best, but assuredly he is incapable of writing such utter nonsense The च in the very next sentence shows how Dinindāru has caught the rhythm of the Sanskrit phrases here

IV 2

[illegible] (१९)
[illegible]
[illegible]

1 *dihišnīh Dātār Auharmazd rāī-varšān Ātrō pātayārīh Ardvīsūr sāhīh sar-farāzīh Xuršet Kōhā gaōčīšī-varšān Tīr rātīh rōbāhīh Gōš parhirtār sapīr*

2 *dahišn Dādār Hormazd rae-varsan Ādar pādyārī Ardvisūr sahī sar-farāzī Khursīd Mah gaociθrī--varšān Tīr rāiti-ravāī. Gos parhirtār beh.*

3 (देयाद्) दायान् धाता होर्मज्द। तेजो-वृध्दिम् आदर्। शुचित्वम् अरद्विसूरा। प्रभाव-उन्नतिम् खुरशीद। माह् गोवंश-वृध्दिम्। तीर् दान-प्रवृत्तिम्। गोश् इन्द्रियनिग्रहम् शुद्धम्।

4 (May) the Creator, Ahurā-Mazdā, (grant ye) these gifts Increase of (spiritual) light (through) Ādar Purity (through) Ardvīsūra. Progressive radiance (through) the Xūršīd (Through) Māh increase-of-flocks (Through) Tīr inclination towards charity (Through) Goš correct-restraint (of senses)

5 Dinidāru दातृत्व दाता होरमज्द । तेजोवृध्दि आदरश्च । शुचित्वं अर्दुईसूरा। प्रभावोन्नतिं खुरशेद । माहो जीव वन वृध्दिम्। तीरो दक्षणा प्रवृतिम्। गोश श्रुतिनियम त्राणम्।

NOTES — *šahī*—Masani reads *sāhī* and trans "royal" Ervad Dhabar has suggested the reading *sahī* ("straight", "continuous' i e, "progressive") So the phrase would mean "straight or continuous progress" A v l in Dinidāru's rendering is प्रभावो नित्यम् which seems to support this I would in that case trans. नित्योन्नतिम्

rāntī ravāī—This is a particularly happy phrase as applied to *Tir* who presides over rain

Gōs etc — A sort of pun seems intended on the word Gōs which also means the ear" Bharucha quotes from the Guj. on this passage from one of the mss. कर्णादि नासिका स्वादिकन आदि देहने अने आंखे अने नासिका अने जिभ्हा सदा उत्तम धुतिना देहणार गोश.[1] Masani reads *bēd* for *bēh*

IV 3.

(१) [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

1 *dihīsnīh Dātār Auharmazd Mitrō dāt anōsnīh Sarōs farmān pānākīh Rasnū rāst rōbīsnīh nirūh rōīsnīh Farvartīn Vahārām pirōzīh andūxtīh Ram rāmīsnīh aōstōbār arvand tōbānakīh Bāt*

2 *dahīsni Dādār Hormazd Meher dāt anōsni Sarōs farmān panāi Rasnū rāst ravasni niru rōīsni Farvardin Bahram firūzi anduxti Rām rāmīsni aostōbār aurvant tavānāi Govād*

3 (देयाद) दायान् धाता होर्मिज्द। मेहेर आनन्तम् शासनम्। स्रोष आदेश पालनम्। रश्नु सत्य प्रवृत्तिम्। सत्त्वोदयम् फर्वेर्दीन्। बहेराम जय प्राप्तिम्। राम शाश्वतम आनन्दम्। सुप्रबला शक्तिम गोवाद्।

4 (May) the Creator Ahurā Mazdā, (grant ye) these gifts (through) Meher the Law of Life–Eternal (Through) Sarōs Obedience to the Commandments (of God) (Through) Rasnu Inclination to Truth Growth of Soul–force (through) Farvardin (Through) Behram the Attainment of Victory (Through) Ram Bliss Eternal Swift strength (through) Gōvād.

5 Dinidāru दातृत्व धाता होर्मज्द। मिथ्रो न्याय सम नियम्। श्रोष आदेशरक्षा च। रश्न सत्यप्रवृत्तिम्। बलोदयन फर्वर्दीन। बहिरामो जयोदयम्। राम शाश्वत आनन्दम्। ग्वाद शीघ्रो गतिम्।

1. Coll Skt. W of the Parsi Pt. I ote 274.

NOTES —*dāt anōšnī*—Masani reads *ašnavašni* and trans "hearing" Dinidāru's निश्रम् is conclusive that the Pah Paz. word is *anōšni*

nīrū rōišnī—Dinidāru uses the word उदयनम् (उदयम) in the sense of "rise" or "growth" The word *rōišnī* (from *rustan* (रुह्), to grow) is to be distinguished from *ravasnī* (from *raftan*, to go) In *Sikand-gumanīk-vijār* the word *nīrū* is rendered by प्राण or बल

anduxtī—Masani needlessly reads *anduxtār* and trans it as an agent- noun

aostōbār—Masani reads *aostōād* and trans as if it were a verb, thus needlessly breaking up the uniformity and harmony of the whole passage.

IV 4

(२१) [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

1 *dahišnīk Dātār Auharmazd Dīn dānišn afrūzīk gadman andūzīk Aršisvang hunar hambārišnīk Aštāt avīr tōxsākīk Āsmān gās vatrūnīk Zamyāt hunīkrišnīk Mānaspand fartan Anerān*

2 *dahišnī Dādār Hōrmazd Dīn dānišn afrūzī Xūreh andūzī Aršīsvang hunar hambārišn Astād avīr tōxsāī Asmān gah-pāyandī Zamyād hunigīrišn Marāspand farrehtan Anērān*

3 देयाद् दायान् होर्मिज्द्। दीन ज्ञानोद्दीपनम्। ऐश तेज प्राप्तिम् अर्शीश्वंग्। कलासभारम् आश्ताद्। अविरत अध्यवसायम् आस्मान्। स्थिराम् सस्थितिम् जम्याद्। अच्छाम् दृष्टिम् मारेस्पन्द्। उज्ज्वला त्विषम् अनेरान्।

4 (May) the Creator, Ahurā Mazdā, (grant ye) these blessings (through) Dīn kindling of (the Light of) Wisdom Acquiring spiritual radiance (through) Arsišvang Fullness of arts (through) Aštad. Unceasing perseverence (through)

Asmān. Firm foundations (through) Zamyād Clearness of vision (through) Māraspand Resplendent body (through) Anērān

5 Dinidāru दातृत्व दाता होर्मेज्द । दीनि ज्ञानसमुन्नतिम् । श्रीमराम भर्ष्मिम्रपा । आस्तादो गुणसंमहित्वम् । आस्मानो व्यवसाय च । जम्याद स्थिरां स्थितिं । मारेस्पद शुभां दृष्टिम् । शरीरकांतिं अनेरान ॥

NOTES —*afrūsi*—Dinidāru's समुन्नति indicates a v l in the Pah. - *afrāsih*

xūreh—The श्री of Dinidāru is not quite accurate

tōxsāi—The Skt. अध्यवसाय is nearer in sense than the व्यवसाय of Dinidāru.

gās-gāh—It is used in the sense of space only

V [THREE AVESTA PASSAGES]

Dinidāru practically stops here In the *Collected Sanskrit Works of the Parsis* I Bharucha states explicitly (Note 276) that except one para (Yasna LXVIII. 11) the whole of the remainder of the *Asirvād* (the Marriage Service) is missing in all the mss and so he has himself supplied the Skt. version In actual practice today the Skt. recital stops with "the gift of Anērān

Now follow three quotations from the Yasna—LIX 30-31 LIV 1 and LXVIII 11 In the text as given by Masani the Avesta of Yasna LIX 30-31 is followed by its Paz. trans. and in actual practice the Paz. trans is also repeated But I think it is not necessary at all [1] so I give here merely the Avesta passages (in transliteration) and their English renderings

V 1

[*Yas. LIX 30*] *vaŋhu tū tē vaŋhaot̰ vaŋhō būyāt hvātvōya yat̰ zaoθre hanaēsa tū tūm tat̰ mīždəm yat̰ zaota hanayamnō aŋha, frāyō humatō frāyō hūxtō frāyō-hvarštō*

1 Probably in Sasanian times all these three Avesta passages had their Paz. translations recited at the time of the ceremony Paz. was the everyday language of the people in those days

[*Yas LIX 31*] *jamyāt̰ vō vaŋhaot̰ vaŋhō, mā-vō jamyāt̰ akāt̰ aš̌ō,* [*mā-mē jamyāt̰ akāt̰ aš̌ō*]

(Trans) May fortune verily be thine (even) better than good, for thine own self in (this) ceremony †, may thou verily earn (that) reward which the goodman‡, rich in good thoughts, rich in good words, rich in good deeds doth earn

May (fortune) better (even) than good come to ye, may not (fate) worse than evil come to ye, [may not (fate) worse than evil come to me]

Notes — In the original context this is addressed by the Rāθwi Priest to the Zaōtar Priest, the latter is the chief performer of the Yasna ceremony Hence it may seem at first sight a bit incongruous to address this to the newly wedded pair The *me* in the last clause *is* incongruous Perhaps it were better to omit the last clause altogether Hence I have put it between square brackets

Zaota—Masani here reads *Zaot̰* and trans. "heavenly-blessing"

Masani adds here *aθa jamyāt yaθa āfrīnāmi* But it is better to have this phrase at the very end of the Avesta passages

V 2

[*Yas LIV,*[2] *1*] *ā Airyə̄mā išyō rafəδrāi jantū nərəbyas-cā nāiribyas-ca Zaraθuštrahē, Vaŋhə̄uš rafəδrāi Manaŋhō yā Daēnā vairīm hanāt mīždəm, Ašahyā yasā aš̌īm*

Yąm išyąm Ahurō masatā Mazdå

† *yaz* has to be omitted. ‡ Mr trans is according to Bartholomae Dhabhar, however, in a conversation, suggested that *Zaota* here means "light", in the Paz the word is rendered as *rōšnī*

2 For full annotation on this see my *Selections form Avesta and Old Persian* I 1, pp 206-213

(Trans.) May the ever welcome Airyaman come-hither for the rejoicing of the men and of the women as-well of Zarathushtra[1] for the rejoicing of Good Mind (may he come hither).

Who(soever of these men and women) earns the precious reward through (his or her good) heart (for such) do I beg the blessing of Aša (the blessing) most to be desired which Ahurā Mazdā doth bestow

Note —This verse is to be repeated four times

V 3

[*Yas. LXVIII 11*] *ahmāi raēš-ca x̌arənaš-ca ahmāi tanvō drvatātəm ahmāi tanvō vazdvarə ahmāi tanvō vərəθrəm ahmāi īštīm pouruš-x̌āθrąm ahmāi āsnāmcit̰ frazaintīm ahmāi darəγąm darəγō-jītīm ahmāi vahištəm ahūm ašaonąm raocaŋhəm vīspō-x̌āθrəm*

aθa jamyāt̰ yaθa āfrīnāmi[2]

(Trans.) Unto him (grant O Lord) splendour and glory also unto him health of the body unto him vigour of the body unto him conquest of the flesh unto him strength (which) leads to complete salvation unto him really clever offspring unto him enduring long life unto him the best world of the righteous resplendent (and) all-glorious.

Thus may it come about as I pray

VI [The Blessings of the Illustrious Ancestors]

Next follows the *Āfrīn-ī Vazūrgān* of which both the Pah and Paz. texts are extant Of course during the ceremony only the Paz. is recited There is a Sanskrit rendering by Bharucha which seems to be quite accurate and close to the Pah text. But towards the end both the Pah and the Paz. versions differ considerably from Bharucha s Skt. He seems to have omitted certain bits

1 I.e., the followers of Zarathushtra.

2 This sentence is frequently added at the end of Avesta benedictions.

which are peculiarly Iranian and for which even the Skt words are not known[1] The Paz text ordinarily used in the ceremonial is Masani's He seems to have made some changes and to have rearranged the sentences differently I give here the Pah and Paz and an Eng trans as also Bharucha's Skt

I have, in fact, corrected the Pah text in light of Bharucha's Skt[2] But as already mentioned above I have retained the Pah and Paz portions he has omitted

VI 1.

[illegible]

[illegible] (...)

[illegible] (...)

āfrīn-i vuzōrgān

1 *pavan šam-i Yazdān, āfrīn cigōn kerīn gās-i xūtāe, āfrīn pavan ānkartan būn pavan aīrān šatrō (vahāmān)*

āfrīn-i buzōrgān

2 *pa nām-i Yazdān āfrīn cūn pīš gāh-i xūdāe, āfrīn pa ānkardan bun pa Irān šahr (falān)*

Blessings of the Ancients

3 In the name of God Just as (they uttered) blessings in front of the king's throne so I begin to recite (these) blessings (before ye) in the Aryan city of

(4) Bharucha नाम्ना दातु स्वामिनो महाज्ञानिन [3] आशीर्वचनानि यथा स्वामिन सिंहासनस्य पुर क्रियते तानि तव पुर आरमे (अमुके) नगरे

NOTES —*būn*—Masani reads *tobān* and trans "I am able" (શકું છું) Masani takes *pīs gāh* in the sense of "ancient times"

---

1 Such as the names of flowers, which are unknown to India except in Kashmir and the Himalayan regions

2 My reason for this has been that Bharucha's knowledge of Pah. and Skt as also the accuracy and depth of his scholarship has not been equalled by any Parsi scholar so far

3 Bharucha evidently reads *pavan šam-i Dātār Auharmazd*

VI 2.

[illegible]

1 *kāmak-hanjām yahvūnēt cigōn Auharmazd Xūtāe pavan dāmān-i napasman frax ō pāhlūmtar yahvūnēt cigōn Kaixūsrōb xūp-mitrō yahvūnēt cigōn Mitrō Yazat dūsman-zatār yahvūnēt cigōn Zarīr hū-ditaī yahvūnēt cigōn Syāvaxs bāmīk yahvūnēt cigōn Vīzan ahlob yahvūnēt cigōn Gūstāsp Sāh zūhar-homand yahvūnēt cigōn Sām-i Narīman aozvāntar yahvūnēt cigōn Rūstaham nīzakvar yahvūnēt cigōn Spandat dīn āvar yahvūnēt cigōn Jāmasp bētās cīr*

2 *kām anjām bēd cūn Hormazd Xūdāe pa dāmān-i xᵛēs farx ū pāsūmtar bēd cūn Kaixūsrō Xūp-mehr bed cūn Mehr Yazad dusman zadār bēd cūn Zarīr hū-dīd bed cūn Syāvaxs bāmī bēd cūn Bēzan asō bed cūn Gūstāsp Sah zormand bēd cūn Sām-i Narīmān aojvāntar bēd cūn Rūstam nīzvar bēd cūn Asfandyār dīn-yāvar bēd cūn Jāmāsp bētās cīr*

3 Be ye fulfillers of desire like the Lord Ahurā-Mazdā unto His own creation Be ye fortunate and top-most like Kaikhusro Be ye full of grace like the Adorable Meher Be ye conquerors of (your) enemies like Zarīr Be ye pure of sight like Syāvaxs Be ye glorious like Bēzan Be ye righteous like King Gūstāsp. Be ye strong like Sām (son of) Nariman. Be ye skilful in battle like Rūstam Be ye bearers of the lance like Asfandiyār Be ye promoters of the Faith like Jamasp, the illustrious Seer

4 Bharucha कामप्रदौ भवत यथा स्वामी अहुर्मज्द स्वकीयाभ्य सृष्टिभ्य । भाग्यवतौ सर्वोत्तमौ च भवत कएखुस्रव इव। कृपाशीलौ भवतं मिहिरो यजद इव। शत्रुजयौ भवत जरीर इव। सुचक्षुषौ भवतं स्यावक्ष इव। प्रभावतौ भवत वेजन इव। ऋतवतौ भवतं गुस्तास्पशाह इव। बलवंतौ भवतं नरीमानस्य साम इव। युद्धकलाप्रवीणौ भवत रुस्तम इव। मल्लक्षेपणकलाप्रवीणौ भवत अस्पदीआर इव। धर्मस्य सहाय्यकारिणौ भवत जामास्पो भिषग् इव ॥

Notes —This "benediction" is evidently based on some ancient Zoroastrian prayer One is reminded of the Avesta text of the *Vištāspa Yašt* which popularly known as the *Āfrīn Pegāmbar Zartošt* The original was very probably addressed to a king (as clearly stated in the beginning of this *Āfrīn-i Vozorgān*) and hence some parts seem inappropriate as addressed to the Bride

hū-dīd—Masani reads *hū-dīn* The epithet *hu-dīd* (pure-of-sight[1], i e , chaste) is specially happy for Syavaxš

After Asfandiyar's name Masani adds *dīn-yāvar* as his epithet And with Jamasp he has the word *gūyā* which he renders as "eloquent" (બોલનાર) The Pah text of Dhabhar reads [illegible] ([illegible]-*gūyāk* ?)

bētās čir—The word *bētāš* occurs elsewhere in connection with Jāmāsp and means "astrologer" *čir* means "grand" Masani reads *gūyā bed čūn Jamasp pa dānes-i zic,* and renders "be ye eloquent in wisdom astrological like Jamasp"

VI 3

(۲۸) [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

1 *avarvēč yahvūnēt čigōn Artafravart rāt yahvūnēt čigōn Tištr čarp yahvūnēt čigōn Vārān vināh yahvūnēt čigōn Xūršēt habad-herfah yahvūnēt čigōn Zartuhašt*

1 Cf the Pers *pāk dīd* پاک دید used in exactly the same sense

dēr-zivīsn yahvūnet cigōn Zravān saritā bar homand yahvūnet cigōn Spandomat zamīk

2 *avarvēz bēd cūn Ardafravaš rād bēd cūn Tištr carv bēd cūn Vārān binā bēd cūn Xūršid veh-korfeh bēd cūn Zartošt dēr zivišn bēd cūn Zravān Pādšāh barōmand bēd cūn Spendārmad zamīn*

3 Be ye triumphant like Ardafravas. Be ye liberal like Tistr Be ye gentle like the Rains. Be ye (all)seeing like the Sun Be ye full of piety like Zarathuštra. Be ye long lived like Sovereign Time Be ye fruitful like Spendārmad (our Mother) Earth

4 Bharucha प्रभावन्तो भवत सुरक्षमान इव। दानशीला भवत तिस्त्र इव। रसवन्तो भवत मेघवृष्टिरिव। सर्वदर्शिनो भवत सूर्य इव। बहुपुण्यवन्तो भवत जरथुश्त्र इव। दीर्घायुषो भवत महान् राजा इव। फलवन्तो भवत स्पन्दारमद् भूमिरिव॥

Notes —*avarvēz*—Also read *aparvez* as in the title of the famous Khusrav Parvez.

carv – Lit 'soft' (and juicy) Bharucha's रसवन्तो is very apt.

VI 4

[illegible] (۲۱)
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

1 *kabad patvand yahvūnēt cigōn rōd-i nāvatāk kabad hanbār yahvūnēt cigōn jamestān xūram yahvūnēt cigōn bahār hūbōe yahvūnet cigōn mūšk avāišnīk yahvūnēt cigōn zahbā rōbāk yahvūnet cigōn dēram kertār yahvūnēt cigōn Auharmazd Xūtāi pavan dāmān i napašman*

2 *vēš paēvand bēd cūn rūd i nāvadā vēš-hanbār bēd cun jamestān xuram bēd cun bahār hubōi bēd cun mušk avāišnīk bēd cun zar ravā bēd cun diram kerdār bēd cun Hormazd Xōdāe pa dāmān i xᵛēš*

3 Be ye much connected like a navigable river Be ye rich in stores like autumn Be ye joyous like spring Be ye fragrant like musk Be ye desirable like gold Be ye honoured like the *diram* Be ye active workers (for good) like Ahuramazda, the Lord, in His own creation

4 Bharucha बहुसबंधिनौ भवत नाव्या नद्य इव। (पूर्वोपायहेतुकौ) बहुसग्रहकौ भवतं शरन्तुरिव। प्रमुदितौ भवत वसततुरिव। सुगंधिनौ भवत कस्तूरिका इव। सुकृतानि कर्तु शक्तौ भवत नाणकानि इव। मल्लमुद्रासुप्रतिष्ठितौ भवत सल्लनाणक इव। परोपकारिणौ भवत यथा स्वामी अहुरमज्द स्वकीयासु सृष्टिषु॥

Notes —The imagery in this paragraph is very poetic and requires some thought to be fully appreciated

ravā bēd etc — The *diram* bearing the mint mark of Nishāpūr was "current" (*ravā*) everywhere, hence the comparison

VI 5

[illegible]

[illegible]

1 *denman āfrīn pavan lakūm actūn yahvūnāt cigōn Māh ō Xūršēt ō mayā ō ātrō ō ās ō mūrt ō mūsk ō yās-mīn ō gūl ō marzāngōs*

2 *īn āfrīn ōē šumā aēdūn bād cūn Māh ū xūršed ū āv ū ātaš ū may ū murd ū mūsk ū yāsmīn ū gūl ū marzāngōš*

3 May these benedictions be unto you (two) as (comforting as) the Moon, and the Sun, and water, and fire, and wine, and myrtle, and musk, and jasmine, and rose, and marjoram

4 Bharucha एतानि आशीर्वचनानि युष्मासु (अपि प्रत्येके जने) एव सफलानि भवतु यथा चन्द्रस्य प्रभा सूर्यस्य प्रकाश जलस्य शीतलता वह्नेरुष्णता मद्यस्य कस्तूर्याश्च सुवासा सुप्रवक्तु सुभाषण (एकैकमपि सर्वान् सभासदान् इंद्रियगोचरीभवतु)

Notes —In Bharucha's Skt rendering there are portions which do not quite correspond with the Pah text

as given by Dhabhar and these Skt portions I have included in brackets. The last clause seems to be put at the beginning of the next paragraph in Masani's Paz. text. Bharucha seems to have followed the Paz. text as given by Antia.[1]

yamin u qūl—Antia's text reads *dośan gar* which is probably the original of Bharucha's गुप्तक सुमाषितम्. I have followed Masani merely inserting the *u*.

mar āngīs—This is entirely omitted by Bharucha. The word occurs in the story of King Husrav and his Boy.[2]

एतस्मिंश्च etc.—This is probably the *hamā hanjaman rā* which stands as the beginning of the next para in Masani's text.

Note how Bharucha amplifies the sense in his Skt. by the words यथा अग्नय: etc. and the दक्षिणापर्व मस्तु at the end.

VI 6

[illegible]

1 *rahāmān (katak xūtā) rā ō rahāmān (kanīk) rā 1000 sanat zirandakih yahrānāt leratman būndakān-i napasman mast as rabidunet paran xūrisn i pāk ō xayā basim ruspa rām hamband leratman nisman [sūr] napasman-rinak zakar ō ahlūl far and [illegible]āyēt mūn Airān yaxsūnet ō sam būrdānāt ō dusman saktalūnāt ī dūtak afrō āt darūt*

2 *falān (kad-xudā) rā u falān (kanīk) rā hazār sāl zindagānī [umar-darāz] bād arā bandagānī x̌ēs mast as kunēt pa xurisn i pāk u jān basim ruspa rām hamband*

1. *Pazend Texts* pp. 115-116. The text is given here [illegible] incorrect and in places almost illegible.

2. Edited by J. M. Unvala, § 8.

avā zan [suhar] vīś-rmnāk nar ū asō farzand āyēt, kē Irān dārād ū nām burād ū dusman zanād ū dud afrōzād dārād

3 Unto (the Bridegroom) and unto (the Bride) may there be a thousand years [of long-enduring] life, together with their kin [May each (of the two) make (others) happy through honestly earned bread and a pleasant life full of joy] May (this) union with (his) [her] wife [husband] produce a son resembling themselves and righteous who shall maintain the Aryan (ideals), and shall exalt (your) name and shall overcome the enemy and shall increase the prosperity of (your) family

4 Bharucha अमुकस्य (वरस्य) अमुकायाश्च (पत्न्याः) सहस्रवर्षाणि दीर्घायूंषि भवतु। [1] विवाहित सगमात स्वसदृशो धर्मपर पुत्र उज्जायताम्। य आर्यजनसमूहेन सगमी भवतु स्वनामनिर्ग्याति करोतु शत्रु प्रहरतु स्वकुलस्य प्रकाश च प्रोदयतु ॥

NOTES —This is a very incorrect paragraph in the Pazand text, especially the second sentence—*mast as.. .. vispa-rām* Even Bharucha has omitted this and so it is with the utmost diffidence that I offer my version of it[2]

All through we must remember that this *Āfrīn* was originally recited before *kings* and the sense comes out quite well in that light Of course as applied to the wedded pair[3] some liberties have to be taken with the meanings of of the words

bandagān—Lit "subjects" of the king

Bharucha's Skt has given very valuable hints for translating especially the two words विवाहसगमात् and स्वसदृश Masani has gone off on a different track altogether in reconstructing the Paz text It would be best to reproduce his version here

1. Note that Bharucha omits a whole sentence here (*mast as vispa rām*)

2 This portion is put between square brackets [ ] in the English translation

3 The bridegroom for the time being is "the king' of the show and is actually called वरराजा

[*hamā hanjaman rā*[1]] *falān rā ū falānāh rā hazār sāl zindagānī umar-darāz bād az ān bandagān xuš mast az kunad. pa xirasno ū pāk sparm ambarī vāzanēd xūš vinihā! nar azū farzand zāyād ko Airān etc.*[2]

VII. [Good Wishes for the Married Couple.]

Now follows the last section the *Doā-ī Paēmānī* This is not found in the edition published by Dhabhar[3] There are only the two Pazand versions one by Antia[4] and another by Masani and there is the Skt. rendering of this done by Bharucha. Antia also gives another *Doā-ī nikāh goftan*, which he says "is a form of blessings recited by the Irani-Zoroastrians." I have adopted Masani's version with slight changes in light of Bharucha's Skt

VII 1.

1 *ba nām-ī Yazad baxšāyandēhe baxšāyašgare meherbān az yār mehrdād xudāvand! kad-xuda (falān) rā u kad bānu (falān) rā hazār sāl zindagānī, tan-durustī u dēr-zīvašnī āvāyād x̌ureh avhat ašahīdār*

2 In the name of God the Pardoner of sins the Giver of blessings, (and) Gracious. O Friend Just, Lord of all unto the Bridegroom [5] and unto the Bride [5] may there accrue a thousand years of life health of body and long endurance of vitality May (their) inner radiance be full of purity

3 Bharucha नाम्ना स्वामिनो य क्षमावान् कृपालुरनुग्रहशीलश्च। हे अनुग्राहिन् न्यायिन् स्वामिन् (अमुक) वरं (अमुकां) च तस्य पत्नीं सहस्रवर्षाणि दीर्घायुषि जीवय। तनोः अरोगितां दीर्घां च जीवितिं यथायोग्यां प्रतापवतीं पवित्रतां च तस्या तयोः सुरक्षां कुरु॥

Notes —*az yār*—Masani has this as one word *aiyyār*

1. These words are not in the Pahlavi text.
2. The rest is unchanged.
3. *Zand-ī Khūrtak Avistāk* (Bombay 1927).
4. Op. cit., pp. 116-117
5. The names of the Bridegroom and Bride are introduced here.

tan durusti u dēr-zīvašnī—Masani has the word *jān* inserted before the *ū*. This seems to me to be quite needless.

VII 2

1 *Dādār, Harvesp-āgāh! šādī ū rāmašnī, āsānī, farrōhī, nīkī rasānād ū buzōrg rūichē-ī zudāī hu-pādasāhī dād amāvandī fīrōzgarī bād hu-yazasn hu-nēsān dīn-ī beh Māzdayasnān āgāhī astōvanī bād*

2 Creator, All-knowing! May joy and bliss peace good-fortune (and) holiness bless (them). And may (theirs) be the lofty royal glory (and) the strength (and) victory (as) of a good (and) just sovereign. May (theirs) be the pure sacrifice, (and) the sacred symbols of the holy Mazda-worshipping faith, (as also) the knowledge (and) firm observance (of it).

3 Bharucha दाता सर्वज्ञ· प्रमोद प्रहर्ष च सुन्नानि सौभाग्य सुलाभाश्च प्रेरयतु। महतो राजतेजसो न्यायिनश्च क्षात्रस्य प्रबलत्व च विजयश्च भूयाताम्। भद्राया माज्दइअस्नीदीन्या स्वन्वेषण सुचिह्नप्रापण तस्याश्च ज्ञानप्रसारो विश्रामस्य च स्थायित्व वहुतर भूयासु

Notes —*rasānād*—The word literally means "reach or "come unto"

buzōrg firuzgarī bād—Bharucha's way of construing, though rather involved, seems best on the whole. Masani takes *dād* as law, taking *hū-pādasāhī* as an abstract noun.

hu-yazišn — Masani reads *hu-jehasn* and trans "good creation"

hu-nēsān — Masani trans "good-goal"

VII 3

1 *paēvand-ravašnī, farzand-zāyašnī, dēr-pātayašnī zīvasnī bād ādel tan ū husrubī, panāh-ī ravān, hu-pādašāhī bād Dādār, Harvesp-āgāh! dīn-ī Zartōstī šād bād aēdun bād*

2 May (theirs) be a faithful observance of nuptial vows, begetting of offspring, (and) life enduring through long (years). May (theirs) be an honest life and fair

fame, salvation of the soul (and) power for good O Creator All knowing may the faith of Zarathustra flourish. Thus may it be

3 Bharucha सज्जनपथानां प्रचार प्रजानां च तस्यापि दीर्घकाल पर्यंता जीवितेन स्वामी भूयात् । यतो न्यायवान् यस्य न्यायनीतिस्तस्य सुनामख्याति तस्य च आत्मन सुरक्षा भूयास्ताम् । हे सर्वज्ञानिन् धात जरथुस्त्रीधर्मे निर्विघ्न स्यात्॥

NOTES —*ādel tan*—I have traslated *tan* rather freely by the word "life" I do not quite agree with the construing of Bharucha.

panāh-i ravan—Masani reads *pahān ra ravān* (*ra* being probably a misprint for the *izāfat i*) and trans 'unfoldment of the soul

hu-pādašāhi bād—Masani reads *dād* as also Antia s text. I have changed into *bād* in accord with Bharucha s Skt

The remainder of this *dōā* is the same as the second half of the Paz *dōā tandurusti* recited at the end of the daily prayers by all Parsis.

VII. 4

1 *ai Yār Xudā ! xūdāvand i ālam rā kad-xūdā falān rā u kad bānu falān rā hazār sāl der bedār šād bedār tandurust bedār aēdun bedār bar sar i arzāmān sālhā i bisyār u farzandhā i bišūmār bāki u pāyandeh dār sad hazārān hazār āfrin bād sāl x̌ujaosteh bād roz farrox bād māh mubārak bād cand sāl cand rōz cand māh*

2 O friend (and) Lord preserve during a thousand years the Lord of (our) people the Brideroom and the Bride keep (them) happy keep (them) healthy keep (them) thus. At the head of worthies during numerous years and countless generations keep (them) alive and strong May a hundred thousand thousand blessings be (upon them) May (each) year be auspicious may (each) day be lucky may (each) month be fortunate (for them) (during) numerous years numerous days (and) numerous months

3 Bharucha हे धात स्वामिन, त्वमस्माकं नो राजान [अमुक] च तस्य [अमुका] च तस्य पत्नी सहस्रवर्षाणि दीर्घायुषो रक्ष। आनंदिनो रक्ष। निरोगिणो रक्ष। एवंविधान रक्ष। योग्यजनाना प्रतिपालकान बहूनि वर्षाणि अगणितानि त्रिशतवर्षाणि[1] पर्यंत विद्यमानान स्थायिनश्च कुरु। सहस्रगुणानि सहस्राणि शुभाशिषो भवन्तु। प्रत्येक वर्ष शुभ भवतु। प्रत्येको दिन शुभागमनो भवतु। प्रत्येको मास शुभागामी भवतु। बहूनि वर्षाणि बहवो दिवसा बहवो मासा शुभाय सप्रकाशा भवन्तु॥

NOTES —The bringing in of "the Lord of our people", i e of the Ruler of the land is not at all sudden, because in the *dōā tandurusti* the words are actually found Loyalty to the Ruler has ever been an Iranian virtue Masani seems to have some doubt as to the propriety of bring in the mention of "the Lord of our people", and so he takes the phrase as an epithet of God But thus he leaves the *rā* untranslated

Bharucha puts a stop after *cand māh* Masani takes *cand sāl māh* with the following paragraph. Bharucha's construing is decidedly better

VII 5

1 *bisyār sāl arzānī-dār yazašn ū nyāyašn ū rādī ū zor-barašn ašahi-dār avarc hamā kār ū kerfehā tandurusti bād, nekī bād, xūb bād, aēdūn bād, aēdūntar-az bād pa Yazadān ū Amešāspendān kāme bād ašəm vohu (1)*

2 During many years (may their) rites and prayers and charities and offerings of sacred gifts (be) full of merit (May) all other acts and sacred duties (they perform be) full of piety May (theirs) be health of body May (theirs) be moral worth May (theirs) be earthly good May it be like this May it be (even) better than this With the help of God and the Holy Immortals may they attain (their) desire ašəm vohu(1)

3 Bharucha यज्ञाश्च परलोकीयाना च ऋणाना प्रतिदान सुदानानि च सुतर्पणानि च सुधर्मकर्माणि च अन्यानि च सर्वाणि पुण्यकर्माणि यथायोग्य निर्विघ्न-समाप्तानि भवतु। आरोग्य भवतु भद्र भवतु शुभ भवतु। एव भवतु एव अधिकतर च भवतु। ईश्वरो अमृताश्च सुवृद्धिकरा. सकामा भूयु ॥ अशेम् वोहू १॥

---

1 By this Bharucha means "a generation"